

# Current HISTORY

June



1930

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## NAVAL PACT AS VIEWED BY THE NATIONS

[WITH TEXT OF THE TREATY]

America—*David Jayne Hill*; Britain—*H. Wickham Steed*; France—*Admiral J. Docteur*; Italy—*Senator Carlo Schanzer*; Japan—*K. K. Kawakami*.

GANDHI: CHARACTER AND CAREER...*W. H. Roberts*

TROTSKY'S REVELATIONS .....*Alexander Bakshy*

WOODROW WILSON AS PROFESSOR *O. W. Mosher Jr.*

CORBIN'S "UNKNOWN WASHINGTON".*Rupert Hughes*

KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN AS MAN AND MONARCH

*By F. L. Kluckhohn and Abbe Alphonse Lugan*

FRANCO-ITALIAN DISCORD .....*Robert C. Binkley*

STEPS TO REPEAL DRY LAW .....*O. S. Poland*

PUBLIC FUNDS FOR DEPENDENTS .....*John A. Lapp*

THE REGENERATION OF TURKEY

*By C. F. Gates and Owen Tweedy*

TRENDS IN OUR COLLEGES .....*W. J. Cooper*

EQUALITY OF STATES .....*Albert Bushnell Hart*

MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY .....*Fourteen Historians*

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### *The Unknown Washington*

By RUPERT HUGHES

AUTHOR OF *George Washington*

"SOMEHOW and somewhere a high crime has been committed," says John Corbin in the opening chapter of a brave and erudite challenge to the most erudite and modern of American historians.\* The crime, as he sees it, is the reversal of the original intent of the makers of the Constitution, which was the security of "national liberty" from the perils not only of monarchs but of mobs. The danger from monarchs was easily ended, but before long the Constitution was delivered into the hands of the mob. The blame for this he lays upon Jefferson and "the Jeffersonian perversion." The fathers, he says, "rejected the doctrine of individual equality \* \* \* from respect for a greater good. What they strove for was national liberty."

Mr. Corbin accuses Jefferson of preaching that all men are created equal but of practicing an opposite theory in his exclusive and seclusive life, while Washington, who has been unjustly accused of a lack of democracy, was the true guardian of the people's rights and liberties and deserved the trust and veneration they gave him.

Mr. Corbin is a strong believer in representative government, a government of and for the people but never directly by them. He seems to have so grave a distrust of government by the immediate interference of the populace that the end of his book gives a more than faint impression of a leaning toward fascism as an ideal.

Believers in Jefferson's greatness may not see so much inconsistency in that great revolutionist's ideals and behavior as Mr. Corbin does. It is quite easy for one to believe sincerely that every man is in a very real sense as good as every other man, and yet want to live far from the madding crowd and enjoy luxurious retirement. One may admit that mobs are often ruinous without making an unwitting plea for benevolent despots. Yet Mr.

Corbin's arguments express the feeling of many ardent patriots.

The chief point he makes, and it is a welcome one, is this: that George Washington was as vital to the shaping of the Constitution as he was to the winning of the war—it is dangerous to use the word Revolution of the Revolutionary War since John Adams said that the Revolution was over before the war began, while Mr. Corbin recognizes two revolutions, and bewails the fact that the former was defeated by the latter:

"Washington's revolution, like the two English revolutions of the seventeenth century, was in some ways conservative: John Fiske called it 'the most conservative revolution in history.' Jefferson's revolution of 1800 was—at least as regards its ideas and phrases—as radical as the French Revolution which preceded and largely inspired it. Of the significance of this, his biographers seem hardly aware. Their praise of the Father of Democracy is unclouded by the thought that Jefferson's triumph was the defeat of a cause that Washington held most dear. \* \* \* Least of all are the Jeffersonians inclined to dwell upon the flat contradiction between Jefferson's revolution and Washington's."

In asserting Washington's claim to far greater glory than has been given to him Mr. Corbin not only deals heavy blows at Jefferson for his inconsistencies and insincerities but assails the habit of crediting Hamilton with making up Washington's mind for him:

"Has it occurred to any one that the man who bore the brunt of the breakdown of the old Constitution during the Revolution had ideas of his own as to the remedy?—or that as President of the United States during the first eight years under the new Constitution, to whom Hamilton was mere Secretary and for five years only, he may have had ways of his own to make his ideas effective?"

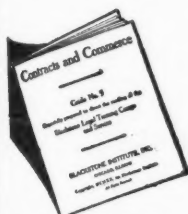
He goes so far as to call Washington the Father of the Constitution. Strangely, even the most reckless and rhapsodic adulators of Washington have not thought to

\**The Unknown Washington*. By John Corbin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. \$4.

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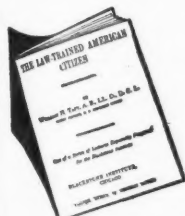
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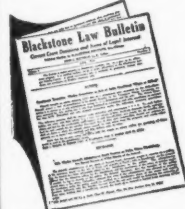
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ascribe much importance to him in this field. They have preferred to present him as a kind of deity sitting aloof in the clouds and waiting for the Hamiltonians, Madisonians, Jeffersonians and others to finish their cat-and-dog fight over the Constitution before they prepared his throne for him. Mr. Corbin claims that while he was inaudible and almost invisible, he was so far from negligible as to have been almost all-powerful.

In the course of this demonstration he amasses an immense amount of fascinating material, holding up Jefferson, Hamilton and others often to our ridicule and aversion but bringing Washington forth in many new lights, all of them to the great enhancement of his loveable humanity, his profound wisdom and the almost irresistible power he exerted by merely being good and unselfish and impeccably devoted to the national welfare.

While Washington's unrecognized contributions to the Constitution make up the greater part of *The Unknown Washington*, Mr. Corbin also makes known many other neglected phases of his career.

His chapter on "The Republic and Sally Fairfax" will come as a shock to those who have done their best to suppress or deny this incident in Washington's life ever since his letters to her turned up in 1877, more than half a century ago.

Mr. Corbin is so far from eliminating Sally that he gives her a pre-eminent influence upon Washington's whole character and career. He would seem to this reviewer to have gone rather far afield in his attempt to prove that Mrs. Sally appears in Washington's cryptic entry in an early diary:

Twass Perfect Love before } —S: Young M:  
But Now I do adore. } A his W.

He fills this out to indicate "my young friend's wife Sally" by the ingenious step of crediting Washington with a little bad Latin: "Sally young Meus Amicus his Wife."

He says that this is "only conjecture," but even such airy fancy would seem to be forbidden by the fact that the diary is dated March, 1748, while Fairfax did not marry Sally until mid-December, 1748, and probably did not bring her home to Washington's first glance until 1749.

But other fruits of Mr. Corbin's research correct previous errors and leave no conceivable doubt of the warm place Sally filled in the young Washington's heart. He cites Eugene Prussing's statement that this is "the finest love story in the world," and concludes: "This much at least can

be said of his love story, that in all biography it is the most humanly warm, and decent and wise—the most civilized."

This may be a trifle enthusiastic considering the brevity of the affair and the paucity of our documents. But it is certainly better than an attitude of shuddering abhorrence and suppression.

Mr. Corbin's whole contribution to the truth about Washington is also "humanly warm, and decent and wise" and "highly civilized." If in the course of his very carefully reasoned and documented theses he handles some of our more recent historians roughly, they have previously handled their predecessors as roughly. A good historian, like a true scientist, welcomes any honest and expert assault on his documents and his theories. Those whom he has controverted will naturally disagree with Mr. Corbin's criticisms and his conclusions, but they will recognize his earnestness and his scholarship. His book is therefore of signal importance in the history of the founders of this government. It throws needed light in many dusty corners; it emphasizes anew the all but incredible greatness of Washington, and it is one of the books that every student of Washington must have.

[John Corbin writes: "Before sailing for Europe, my old friend Rupert Hughes sent me a copy of his review of *The Unknown Washington*, saying: 'If there is anything wrong or unpleasant, ask the editor to change it.' In so favorable review nothing could be unpleasant, and I fully realize the dubiousness of intervening in any way. Yet since Hughes suggests it, I venture to submit the following:

"It is true that I challenged Madison's right to be called Father of the Constitution and adduce much new evidence as to Washington's part in the movement which resulted in that instrument; but the heading of the chapter has a question-mark—'Father of the Constitution?'—and the final paragraph points out the impropriety of pinning that grandiose title on any man.

"That my book leans toward Fascism as an ideal' I deny, and I am horrified at the idea that it pleads for 'benevolent despots.' In the endeavor to clarify the political theory of Washington, and indeed of the convention as a whole, I point out that, like the Fascists, they stressed *collective liberty* as no less important than *individual liberty*, the republican *balance of orders* as opposed to direct democracy, showing that the ideas involved have been ignored or misrepresented for a century and more. Of this



# CURRENT HISTORY *for* JULY SOVIET RUSSIA

*An Official Survey of Its Progress*

THIS ARTICLE is written by Boris Skvirsky, the director of the Soviet Union Information Bureau in Washington, who is regarded as the unofficial Ambassador of Russia to the United States.

*England's Labor Government by the distinguished political scientist, Professor Harold J. Laski of London University.*

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Mr. Hughes gives one more example! In my account of the plot to impose a benevolent despotism by means of the army, which was engineered by Hamilton and the Morris in Congress working in conjunction with a clique of officers at Newburgh, I show Washington's utter abhorrence of the idea, an abhorrence which, as it seems to me, his whole life witnessed. Though he did not believe in direct democracy—standing in this with the entire convention except Franklin—he was a republican of the most radical and uncompromising.

"The diary in which young Washington recorded his adoration of 'S: Young M:A: his W,' is, indeed, that of 1748; but this entry is undated and is made on the blank pages at the end, the book having been turned upside-down for the purpose. The handwriting is similar to that of the entries of 1748, but was obviously of some indeterminate later date."]

## *America and World Problems*

By JOHN CARTER  
AUTHOR OF *Man Is War*

FOR a century and a half our national motto has been, "We don't know where we're going, but we're on our way!" As a people, we have had little patience with theorists or theories; hard, practical results alone have enlisted our attention and the man who could foresee them at long range did not, as a rule, write a book about it; he became a captain of industry or a big operator in the Stock Market. We drifted into the Civil War because we lacked the will to interpret our own Constitution and the intelligence to work out an advance solution for slavery. We became a nation of Big Business without realizing the cause or consequences. We created an economic empire without meaning or wishing to do so, and we cannot make up our minds what to do with it.

The result is to confront us with the painful necessity for thought, for looking ahead and for planning our course in the light of the theories of the present which, even as we watch, are turning into the hard practical facts of the future. Here are three books\*, each by an expert

in his field, on the political, the social and the economic organization of mankind. A college professor, a radical economist and a Wall Street banker, collaborate in an accidental symposium. They raise as many questions as they answer; their most useful function is to give us a glimpse of what lies around the corner. Whether the shadows of coming events are long or short, we can see them moving along the wall. In 1940, or perhaps sooner, we shall know more about them.

Professor Gibbons's book is a collection of lectures on nationalism, refreshingly informal in tone, scholarly in content. He traces the rise of that queer politico-racial, economic-territorial conception known as the nation back to remote antiquity. When did the human race begin to divide itself into nations? Who knows? Some time in the Middle Ages. France under Joan of Arc, Spain after the expulsion of the Moors, England under Elizabeth, Italy, Germany and the United States in the last century became nations. The process still continues. It has produced wars, created and disrupted empires, inspired revolutions, evolved foreign politics. The forces of organized international society are now with, now against, nationalism. At the moment of writing, nationalism is slightly discredited in a world which, according to Professor Gibbons, is organized for the convenience of the "Big Powers." All talk of "European economic union" is simply an attempt, according to this authority, on the part of the Big Powers to perpetuate the status quo.

Speaking of the Congress of Vienna, he observes that "in trying to get the boundary provision of a treaty internationally underwritten, Metternich was, unconsciously perhaps, just like Napoleon, proposing internationalism to check nationalism. It was a new form of the United States of Europe. This type of internationalism always appeals to upholders of a status quo by which they benefit. They want things to remain as they are forever and ever, amen." As for the political genesis of the New Europe which "Article X" and its younger brothers, "sanctions against an aggressor" and "action against a violator of the pact," would guarantee, Professor Gibbons remarks that "three men sat with their tongues in their cheeks,

ing. 349 pp. New York: The Vanguard Press. 1930. \$3.

*America Looks Abroad: The New Economic Horizons.* By Paul M. Mazur. 299 pp. New York: The Viking Press. 1930. \$3.

\**Nationalism and Internationalism.* By Herbert Adams Gibbons. 273 pp. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1930. \$2.50.  
*The Twilight of Empire.* By Scott Near-

humored Wilson until they had fooled him, and those three men were able to draw a new map of Europe that would suit the foreign policies of Great Britain, France and Italy." Accordingly, Genevesque internationalism appears to this exponent of nationalism to conceal behind lofty ideals the immediate practical advantage to the world's empires, for Japan and the United States are at least "sleeping partners" in the status quo which Geneva would make eternal.

Empire, according to Dr. Nearing, is doomed. It carries with it the germs of dissolution. National patriotism and imperialism alike are simply ideals to mask a predatory materialism which moves in regular cycles. Between 1878 and 1914 the world experienced no less than fifty wars, revolutions and colonial insurrections. Between 1910 and 1925, eighteen revolutions occurred. The author of *The American Empire and Dollar Diplomacy* has worked out an imperial pattern based on the teachings of history, which includes the following sequence: Establishment of the nucleus or homeland of imperial power; expansion; the conflict for survival with other conquering, exploiting groups; imperial world supremacy; disintegration and dissolution. "Imperialism is the stage of economic and political development during which a ruling class conquers and exploits beyond the boundaries of the civil state." Therefore, humanity is doomed to a sort of political treadmill, unless it breaks the old molds and adopts the Soviet technique: "In terms of social history, such a social system [Soviet] is beyond civilization. \* \* \* A successful Soviet economy will drive out capitalist economy as the electric bulb drove out the kerosene lamp. \* \* \* Success for the system of economy now being tried out in the Soviet Union means the passing of civilization with its cycles of imperial struggle; the abandonment of exploitation, plunder and war; the building of a new social order on the foundations of this new system of production."

Unfortunately this theory ran afoul of the Marxian concept that industrial society would ripen and automatically prepare the proletarian revolution, and so Dr. Nearing's intellectually stimulating study has been disowned by the Third International. The World Revolution must be created; it will not just happen, although there are many who would agree that a demonstration of the economic superiority of the Soviet experiment will

## Short Story Writing

By Mary Burchard Orvis

Assistant Professor of Journalism,  
Indiana University Extension Division



FOR a dozen years Miss Orvis has been teaching story-writing to evening classes and correspondence students. She gives in this book the suggestions that her experience has proved are most helpful in meeting the practical problems of authorship.

In seventeen concise chapters Miss Orvis treats such matters as: What makes a narrative dramatic? Where do authors get their plots? Amount of complication necessary; defining character and handling conversation; setting and atmosphere; beginning your story; things to avoid; marketing your story.

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reduce capitalist economy to the scrap-heap. The development of Russia under the Five-Year Plan suggests the secret of the future: Will coordinated, communistic or collective methods supersede capitalistic, individualistic methods as the principal directive force of human society? From 1918 to 1928 there was only one answer possible. In the latter year, the Five-Year Plan began and now the world is not so sure.

It is most unfortunate, from the capitalistic point of view, that this Soviet experiment should occur just at a time when the Occident is about to indulge in the senseless economic paroxysms of a tariff war. Mr. Mazur looks at Europe and then at the United States and in suave, ironical vein recites the situation which is confronting them both.

America thinks she can maintain an export surplus and a high protective tariff. Economically speaking, she cannot unless she is prepared to lend money indefinitely, establish branch factories abroad, spend billions on tourist expenditures and reinvest the earnings of foreign investments. Practically speaking, that is exactly what we have done for ten years. Mr. Mazur doubts that we can keep it up. He foresees a war of tariffs, in which we can ruin Europe and Europe can injure the United States. He sees no signs of relenting in American protectionism, for "labor will give an almost undivided, rousing cheer for any legislative action that tends to maintain or even heighten tariff walls." He sees the Americanization of the world a reality, with American methods and business concerns established in foreign countries, with the idea of a United States of Europe prompted by our success in maintaining a continental free trade area, with American high-wage standards and criteria of distribution and consumption replacing age-old standards of the "iron law of wages" and "thrift." And he pleads for "a non-political, economically sound handling of the tariff policy."

Such a book accords so nicely with the interests of a Wall Street investment banker that it must be recognized as a portent. American money is beginning to doubt the validity of the protective tariff; it is beginning to scrutinize the sanctity of an economic democracy which permits the parochial interests of a section or a particular class to take precedence over the fundamental economic needs of the nation. A movement for a wider economic syn-

thesis of the world is taking shape in the caverns and canyons of lower Manhattan. It is by no means certain that the capitalistic answer to the arbitrary production and distribution systems of the Soviet will not be greater liberty of production and freedom of trade among the lands which do not take their marching orders from Moscow, for it is certain that, other things being equal, freedom of capitalistic enterprise will be at a positive disadvantage in dealing with rigidly controlled and coordinated Soviet mass-production, so long as capitalist economy is everywhere subject to the political dictates of narrow nationalism.

## *The Memoirs of General Wrangel*

By MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY

DIVISION OF HISTORY AND ECONOMICS, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

THE memoirs of Baron Wrangel, late commander of the White forces in the south of Russia, is a document of considerable interest and of some importance. It gives a remarkably vivid picture of the atmosphere of unhealthy nationalistic exaltation and complete aloofness from the general trend of world politics which has been one of the outstanding characteristics of the White movement ever since it came into being in 1918. General Wrangel and his followers looked upon themselves as crusaders destined to bring to an end the infamous rule of the



GENERAL WRANGEL

Soviets. In the words of Wrangel, "it is a holy war for freedom and justice." And as bolshevism is an international danger, the desperate enterprise of a handful of men in the Crimea assumed, in their own opinion, the proportion of a "struggle which will decide the fate

*\*The Memoirs of General Wrangel.* Translated by Sophie Goulston, x, 356 pp. New York: Duffield & Co., 1930. \$6.




not only of our country but of the whole of humanity." And this naturally entitled the White troops to the support of the whole civilized world for whose cause they were fighting. It also excluded the possibility of any compromise or understanding with the Reds. "We had no choice," writes Wrangel; "we had to go on fighting as long as we had the strength." It is important to understand this point of view in order to be able to follow the course of events in the South of Russia in 1918, 1919, and especially in 1920.

Wrangel's association with the White Army began in 1919, but as a result of personal disagreements between him and General Denikin, then leader of the army, he resigned his command and retired to Constantinople. At the end of March, 1920, after the complete defeat of Denikin by the Bolsheviks, he returned to the Crimea and became Denikin's successor. He made a desperate effort to reorganize the army and to create some kind of civilian administration, but met with indifferent success. On Oct. 15, 1920, the Soviet Government, which had in the meantime concluded a treaty of peace with Poland, launched an offensive against the Wrangel army, which proved incapable of resistance. On Oct. 29 an order for general evacuation was given, and over 150,000 Russians, including about 100,000 soldiers, sailed for Constantinople and a further unknown destination. It was indeed an exodus which recalls the biblical story of the flight into Egypt.

The part of Wrangel's memoirs which deals with his experience in the Volunteer Army, as it was then called, before he assumed the command, is of particular interest. It is remarkably frank and outspoken. "The population," he writes, "greeted our army with wild enthusiasm; they had all suffered from the Bolsheviks, and only want to be allowed to live in peace, and yet they have to endure the horrors of pillage, violence and despotism all over again. Result: confusion at the front and risings in the interior. \* \* \* The war is becoming to some a means of growing rich; re-equipment has degenerated into pillage and speculation. \* \* \* The army is absolutely demoralized, and is fast becoming a collection of tradesmen and profiteers." As to the commanding officers, they were devoting their energies to intrigues, quarrels, and not unfrequently to debauchery.

It is not surprising therefore that after the collapse of Denikin's army in the



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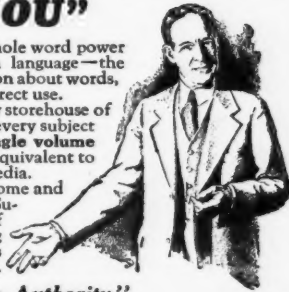
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Spring of 1920 the British Government informed the Russian command that "the Supreme Council [of the Allies] is of the opinion that on the whole the prolongation of the Russian civil war is the most disturbing factor in the present European situation. \* \* \* The British Government is absolutely convinced that the abandonment of this unequal struggle will be the best thing for Russia." And the British Government offered its good services to bring about an arrangement between the White troops and the Soviets. This offer was rejected by Wrangel, who in the meantime succeeded Denikin as leader of the Crimean army. He confesses that he had little or practically no hope of success, but he had to fulfill his sacred mission at any cost. This certainly was a fateful decision, for which the population of the south of Russia paid a terrible price. It was taken in spite of the fact that Wrangel fully realized that the men against whom he fought were hardly enemies. "Both sides," he writes, "had been forced to use conscription. \* \* \* The same elements were to be found in both armies; their presence in one or the other depended largely on chance geographical circumstances." But considerations of humanity and common sense are silenced before the call of the holy war.

The evacuated troops of the Wrangel army are now scattered all over the world and are sharing the fate of other Russian refugees. It is nevertheless claimed by their former leader that they are still members of the army, with which they continue to keep in touch through a military union. It is hardly necessary to say that this link is purely illusory.

There is little doubt that the ill-fated anti-Bolshevist movement of Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich and Miller was unavoidable at the time and was the result of a spontaneous protest against the Communist rule. Its leaders, foolishly perhaps, did believe in its success. In 1920, however, the situation was different. Wrangel knew enough of the White troops to realize that their fate was doomed. He was given a timely warning by the British Government and offered an honorable way out. Under these conditions his venture, however noble may be his motives, was imposing futile and terrible sufferings upon a country already sorely tried. It does not seem that it ever occurred to him that anti-Bolshevist expeditions on the lines of those described in his volume probably contributed more than anything else to the consolidation of the Soviet rule.

## Our Business Civilization

By EDWARD SAPIR

PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THIS excellent book\* should have a salutary effect in shocking the American public into a more painful awareness of the shortcomings of our contemporary life than is ordinarily managed by books of its type. The criticism offered by so original a book as *Our America*, by Waldo Frank, for example, is too easily met by counter-charges of windiness, irrelevant estheticism and an all-round exoticism of spirit that was never intended by God or nature to find a mystically satisfying domicile in these poor States. Much of the annoyance that colors the pages of such writings proceeds from perfectly real sources of discomfort, but the typical American, be he merchant or professor, will not listen, because the annoyance which is expressed does not harmonize with his own humbler exasperation. The indices which are given of our lack of true culture tend to be too remote from normal experience to seem to matter. But in Mr. Adams's book the indices of our busy barbarism are presented in all their homely actuality and, while the inspiration of some of the chapters is the somewhat conventionally aristocratic outlook of the New England Brahmins, the total indictment is telling because the details of conduct that lead up to the charge have been well observed. They ring dreadfully true. The laughter of amused recognition dies away quickly.

It is true, for example, that we are a lawless people. Much of our lives is an uneasy vacillation between "watching our step" and "getting away with it." One watches one's step, not because of a deep-seated respect for the rights of others, not because a success conditioned by the discomfiture of others is spiritually humiliating, but quite frankly because it does not pay to be on bad terms with one's neighbors. But once one has "got away with it," the retrospective possible virtue of having "watched one's step" disappears like a spell of hard work staved off by an unexpected vacation. We live, then, in an ethical forward and backward in which hypothetical virtues are dissolved by merely problematical vices. The old "Handsome is that handsome

\**Our Business Civilization: Some Aspects of American Culture.* By James Truslow Adams. 306 pp. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. 1929. \$3.

does" has lost its Puritan stiffness and taken on the much more obliging texture of a "Handsome is that does handsome."

There is no doubt about Mr. Adams's facts, but one wonders whether the explanation that he offers is quite adequate. No doubt the shibboleth of overt success at whatever cost comes to some extent from the necessities of a pioneer life that brooked no fumbling and no control from a distance. But is it too far-fetched to see in our tolerance of the lesser ill of law-breaking and our complementary insistence on the sheer goodness of "making good" a kind of made-over avoidance of sin, the pure thoughts and manifest righteousness of man in the eyes of God having imperceptibly become secularized into those meritorious ambitions and smashing successes which make every individual, however obscure his pedigree or his intentions and however undistinguished his mental or moral baggage, a possible darling of the people? For there does seem to be an austere religiosity about the contemporary cult of reckless success which justifies a suspicion that it is both historically and psychologically connected with the zealous avoidance of sin which animated an earlier generation. It is excusable to come a little late because of the crowded streets, but it seems to be far more inspiring just to "make it on time" if one has not actually killed the pedestrian who all but got in the way of one's triumphant car. Where it is sinful to succeed below the acme of possible success a little absent-minded lawbreaking can do no harm.

Mr. Adams very rightly stresses our infatuation with "doing" versus "being." Even when there is nothing visible to be done one can at least "step lively" and thus make a clearance for those more fortunate ones who have something rapid on hand as well as hasten one's own chances of arriving at some place or other where something clamors to be done. It is doubtful if one can any longer be properly said to "be" in America; the state nearest to quiescence seems to be "to have got that way," which offers but a precarious equilibrium at best. The philosophy of doing is exceedingly far-reaching in its effect on personal relations in America, the itch for jumping off to a point of vantage threatening at any moment to shatter even the most peaceful and unassuming of human constellations. It is precisely doing as contrasted with being that makes an easy-going familiarity our daily business and friendship so unattainable. What passes for friendship is generally a chronic

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exercise of the art of mutual "boosting."

One of the most telling chapters in Mr. Adams's book is that on "The Mucker Pose." He has here put his finger on one of our profoundest symbols of anonymity. To be a "regular fellow," to pretend to a "lower brow" than comports with the actual size of one's head, to scatter careful shoddy over one's speech—all this is not important because it expresses the individual, it is important because it does not express him. The ideal implicit in Mr. Adams's "mucker pose" is really the "poker face," the sphinx whose inscrutability has been relaxed into a self-imposed stupidity. At the heart of this sphinx there is no mystery, merely the fear of being caught in the sinfulness of failure, the cunning is fear's press-agent, counseling silence and watchful waiting, masked, if the poker face must talk, by a barrage of earnest vulgarity. It is not so much the decay of good speech and good manners that Mr. Adams has to mourn as their gradual dissociation from the inner core of personality, which seeks safety from the glare of the public eye by blaring forth inanities meant to disarm.

Our *Business Civilization* is chiefly valuable because it is an honest burst of anger with the steadily mounting shoddiness of American life. The realization of this comes particularly hard to one who has so completely identified himself with the none too easily won culture of old New England. Hesitatingly he looks to old England but something tells him there is no solution there. Were Mr. Adams as ruthless a psychologist as he is a historian of manners, were he less interested in the retention of graces and values that no longer belong to America, he would be looking not to the lost past but to the darkly emerging future.

## *The Federal Reserve System*

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK  
EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Annalist*

"THE principal message of this book thus remains that the Reserve System is the product of the labors of many minds, that it is the common property and ward of the people, and all must feel an equal degree of concern and responsibility for its welfare." This is the spirit in which Mr. Warburg has contributed two volumes to financial history, which affect the origin and growth of the Reserve System.\* It should

be said at the outset that Mr. Warburg reveals an extraordinary gift of simplifying and clarifying complex material; that a fluid and captivating style leaves not a dull page in these volumes, and that the subject matter is so excellently indexed, chapters so clearly labeled and the supplemental material so well separated that the reader can easily digest those portions that interest him and still have an adequate idea of the general sweep of the theme.

Though Mr. Warburg writes objectively, he cannot dissociate from the narrative his own important part in originating the Reserve System and his subsequent contributions in launching it. Taking us back to 1902 when he settled in New York as a banker, he briefly describes the stark individualism of bankers of the period, the country's suspicion of Wall Street and the decentralized bank reserves that subjected the country to seasonal and cyclical money panics. Even at that time he began to contrast the defects of the decentralized bank reserves then obtaining in the United States with the advantages of central banks in Europe. The first monograph on the subject, prepared by him in 1902, was regarded as so revolutionary and so contrary to the spirit of political and financial thought then prevailing that he was advised by sympathetic friends to conceal it from the public. But in 1907, when the country was engulfed in another money panic, discussion of monetary reform began to rise.

From that point on Mr. Warburg, first single handed but later with the support of leading bankers and economists, pressed his two fundamentals for a reformed banking system; first, his emphasis that the currency problem was secondary to the problem of scientific and mobile bank reserves; and second, his advocacy of rediscounting a new kind of commercial paper. These fundamentals, today regarded as the most important features of the Federal Reserve System, are the exclusive contributions of Mr. Warburg. How he piloted these principles through a stormy sea of discussion; how he allayed suspicion of bankers and public; how he finally won Senator Aldrich over; how his devotion to public interests prompted him to keep the measure and discussion non-partisan; how after the debacle of the Republican party in 1912

and Growth. By Paul M. Warburg. Two Volumes. 853 and 899 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$12.

\**The Federal Reserve System, Its Origin*



he renewed his labors with the leaders of the Democratic party; how other important features of the bill were sacrificed and compromised (notably his advocacy of five Federal Reserve Districts when the Finance Committee advocated as high as fifty, the final act providing not less than eight nor more than twelve). All these steps form a fascinating story told with modesty, clarity, lucidity and singular devotion to the interests of sound banking.

It is of personal interest that the subsequent appointment of Mr. Warburg to the Federal Reserve Board was urged by Senator Glass (then in the House), who was the first to suggest his name and who again urged his name for reappointment when his four-year term expired. And it is with Senator Glass that Mr. Warburg found himself at odds throughout the period that the bill was before Congress, subsequently during his term of service, and now as he proposes certain amendments to the act.

The so-called wartime amendments passed in the years 1914-1918, because of the repeated urgings of Mr. Warburg and in spite of the opposition of Mr. Glass (during some stages this opposition was passive), are regarded by Mr. Warburg as the heart of the measure. Opponents of these amendments are still active and there exists a school of thought that would now turn the hands of the clock back and have them repealed.

## China's Revolution From the Inside

By ROBERT T. POLLARD

SHEVLIN FELLOW IN FAR EASTERN RELATIONS,  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

DR. LO has not written an account of recent political happenings in China, as the title of his book\* might lead one to believe. Only three chapters are devoted to politics, and these are the least worthy of the entire volume. The revolution dealt with is less a political than an intellectual, a social, and an economic revolution which, proceeding somewhat obscurely below the surface of things, has steadily been breaking down ancient traditions and under-

\*China's Revolution From the Inside. By R. Y. Lo. 307 pages. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1930. \$2.

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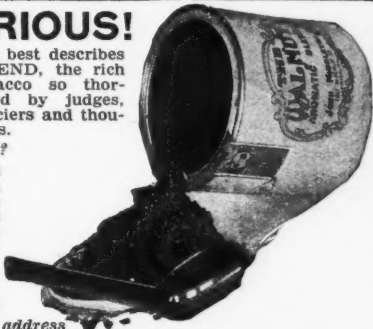
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mining the stability of long-established institutions.

The radical character of these changes stands most clearly revealed, perhaps, in the chapter on the Woman's Movement. In law and in custom, the Chinese woman has occupied a position distinctly inferior to that of male members of her family. There have, to be sure, been exceptions. The old grandmother has ruled many a Chinese family with a rod of iron. But for the most part woman in China has apparently been content with the niche which Confucius set apart for her. Now as a part of the revolutionary movement, a new generation of Chinese feminists have protested violently against this old order of things. Dr. Lo mentions "natural feet and bobbed hair" as the twin symbols of the emancipation movement. These, however, are merely outward and visible signs of an inward, but perhaps not always spiritual, grace. Women now insist on a position of legal equality. A daughter, for instance, should have the same right of inheritance that a son now enjoys. Demands have been made for the abolition of concubinage, or girl slavery, and of prostitution. If a widower may

remarry, the widow should be granted the same right.

No less significant are the New Thought Movement, the Student Movement, and the Anti-Illiteracy Movement. Concerning the first, the leaders of the new dispensation have definitely abandoned the tradition and uncritical acceptance of long-established beliefs, and are bent on applying the test of present utility to every idea and all institutions. They ask first, "What is it?"—then, "What is it for?"—and finally, "What does it accomplish?" The old classical or Wenli literary language is attacked on the ground that it is undemocratic, and is being replaced by the Pei Hua or spoken language, intelligible to the mass of the people.

Both the Student Movement and the crusade against illiteracy are offshoots of this literary revolution. The Student Movement, with both political and cultural aspects, has not infrequently been branded as the work of feather-brained and irresponsible adolescents. While admitting with the utmost frankness that the student has often been led astray, Dr. Lo is equally just in assigning to the youngsters the merit which is their due. The students of Peking in May, 1919, were among the first to recall public officials to a sense of their public responsibilities. Students have conducted schools for illiterates. They have labored to arouse a political interest and patriotic consciousness in the minds of peasants and workers. They have served in many cases as leaders in the Peasant Movement and in the Labor Movement, to each of which Dr. Lo devotes an excellent chapter.

In his discussion of the Anti-Opium Movement the author is fully at home, for he has been one of its leaders. The chapters on the Anti-Religion Movement and the Christian Movement should be read by all laymen having an interest in Christian missions in the Far East. The causes of the attack on organized religion are both intellectual and political. It is worthy of note, however, that in few if any instances have Chinese critics of organized Christianity attacked the personality of its founder. According to Dr. Lo's own sober view, the keystone in China's rejuvenation "is to be found in education and religion."

Excellent as the book is, it is marred in spots by petty inaccuracies. Perhaps it is permissible for a native to take liberties with the Romanization of Chinese names, but for the Western reader some approach to uniformity is desirable if not

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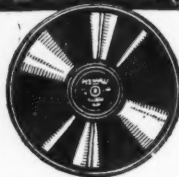
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absolutely necessary. Cases in point are Chang Hsun (given as Chang Shun), Tsao Ju-lin (Tsao Yu-ling) and the Emperor Shun (rendered as Sung). Where Kwangtung and Kwantung are apparently used interchangeably, the reader is left to wonder whether reference is being made to the province in South China or to the region in Manchuria. The statement that, "whatever modern industry on a large scale there is, is either owned by foreign capitalists or financed with foreign capital," hardly does justice either to Wushu or to Nantungchow. The author has also misstated the facts in connection with the events of 1839 at Canton. No "Boston Tea Party" went aboard the opium ships; the opium was handed to Commissioner Lin as ransom for the foreigners, guilty and innocent alike, who were penned in the factories at Canton. These are minor faults, however, and will hardly diminish the interest of the general reader who desires some knowledge of the currents which move below the political surface of contemporary China.

## Germany's Colonial Empire

By ROBERT C. BINKLEY  
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, SMITH COLLEGE

DR. TOWNSEND'S history of Germany's Colonial Empire\* ranks with Erle's story of the Bagdad Railway and Wertheimer's report on the Pan-German League as sound historical writing on a subject that was first taught to the American public in the tendentious fantasies of war propaganda. Both in the acquisition and the administration of her colonies German policies have changed twice since colonial expansion was inaugurated by Bismarck. The Iron Chancellor seized what colonies he could get in 1884-85, but never at the risk of endangering his European system; the young Emperor William sought for colonies without regard to the repercussion of the policies of expansion upon Germany's relations with her European neighbors. He sacrificed European for world power, and nursed endless quarrels with England. This was the policy of the Kruger tele-

Continued on Page 602

\**The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884-1918.* By Mary Evelyn Townsend, Ph. D. With an Introduction by Carlton J. D. Hayes. 424 pages. New York: The Macmillan Company.

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# CURRENT HISTORY

Vol. XXXII.

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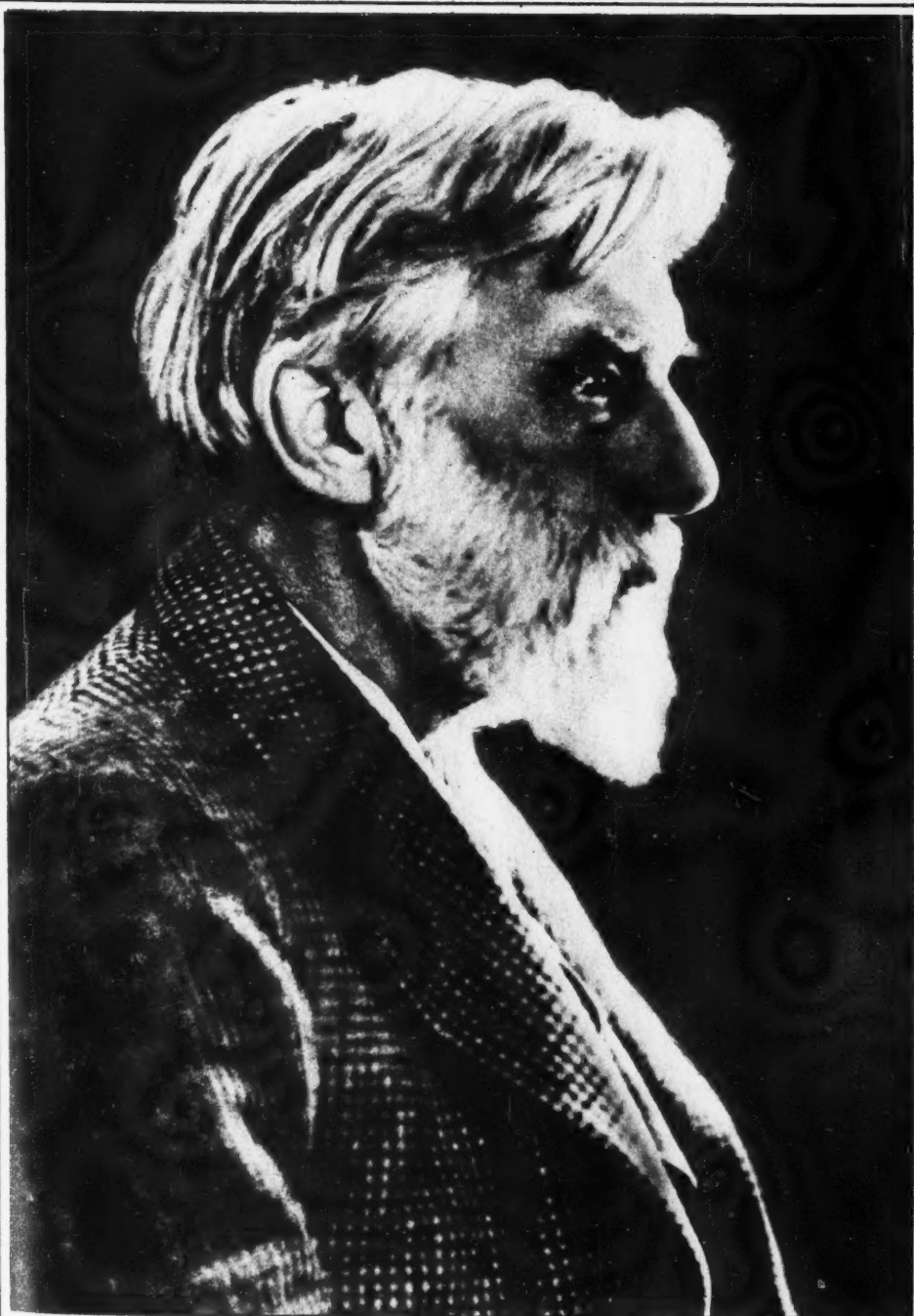
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## PICTORIAL SECTION



Acme

ROBERT BRIDGES

Poet Laureate of England since 1913, who died on April 21. In December, 1929, he published a monumental poetical work, "The Testament of Beauty"

## THE NEW SOVIET RAILWAY



Associated Press

### JAN E. RUDZUTAK

Soviet Commissar of Transportation under whose direction the recently opened 1,700-mile Turksib railway was built. It represents the largest industrial achievement of the Soviet Government, costing \$100,000,000, and executed by Soviet engineers and labor

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE AT THE HAGUE



Associated Press

**ROLAND W. BOYDEN**

Appointed by President Hoover for a six-year term on the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague to succeed Charles Evans Hughes, resigned. Mr. Boyden, a Boston banker, was a delegate to the Versailles Conference and a member of the Reparation Commission

THE VICEROY OF INDIA



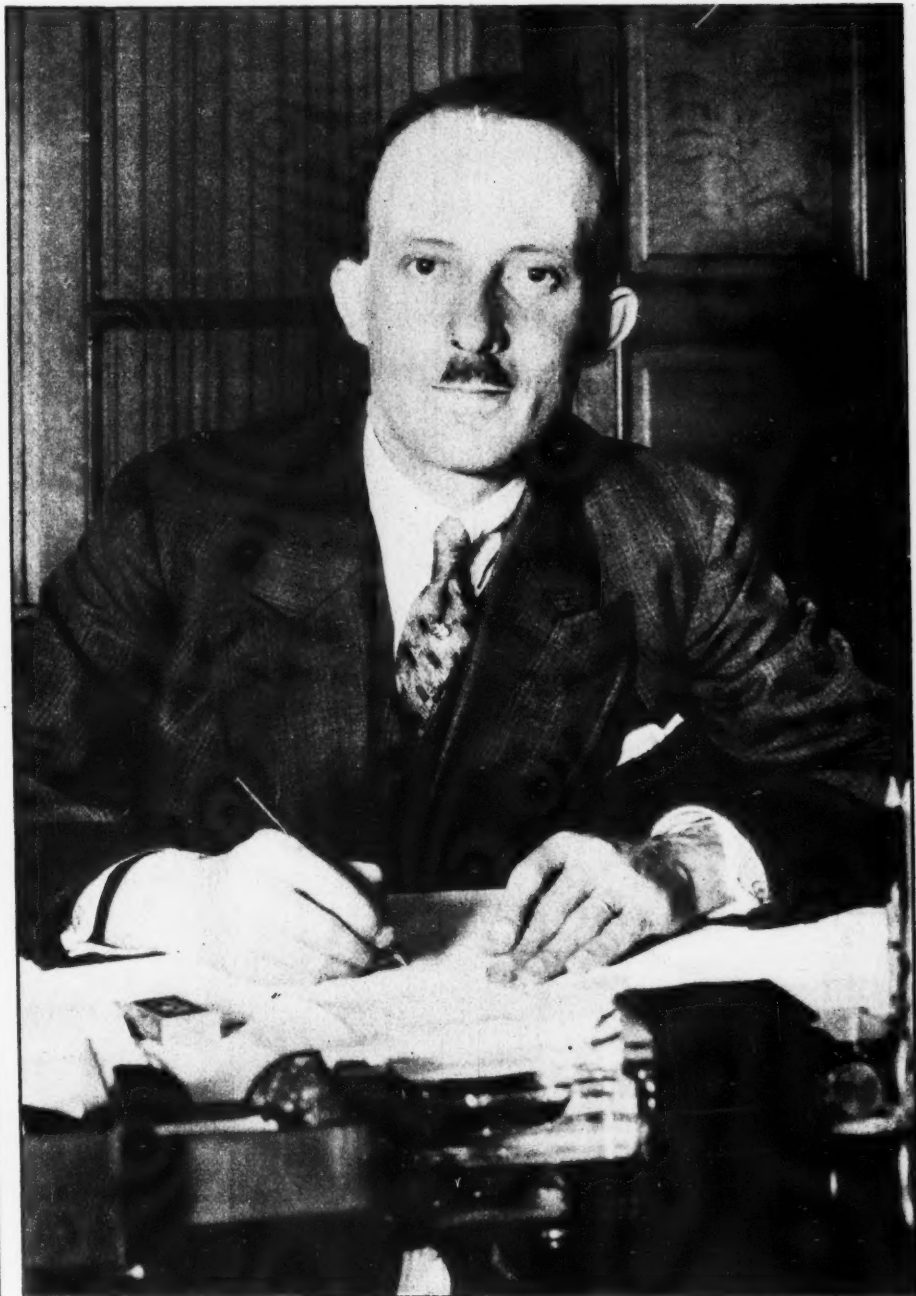
LORD IRWIN

Press Photo Agent, Bombay

The man who is responsible for carrying out British policy in India at the present time



EXECUTIVE OF THE WORLD BANK



Times Wide World

PIERRE QUESNAY

Chosen first general manager of the World Bank at Basle, over the protest of the German delegates. Though only 35, M. Quesnay has been French delegate to the Young Reparation Conference, director of the economic section of the Bank of France and secretary of the Finance Committee of the League of Nations

THE AREA EXPLORED BY ADMIRAL BYRD



**THE SOUTH POLE REGION**  
ch was studied and explored by Admiral Byrd and his expedition, much of which is now mapped for the first time

The part of the vast Antarctic continent which was studied and explored by the expedition now mapped for the first time

A M E R I C A N   O P E R A   C O M P O S E R

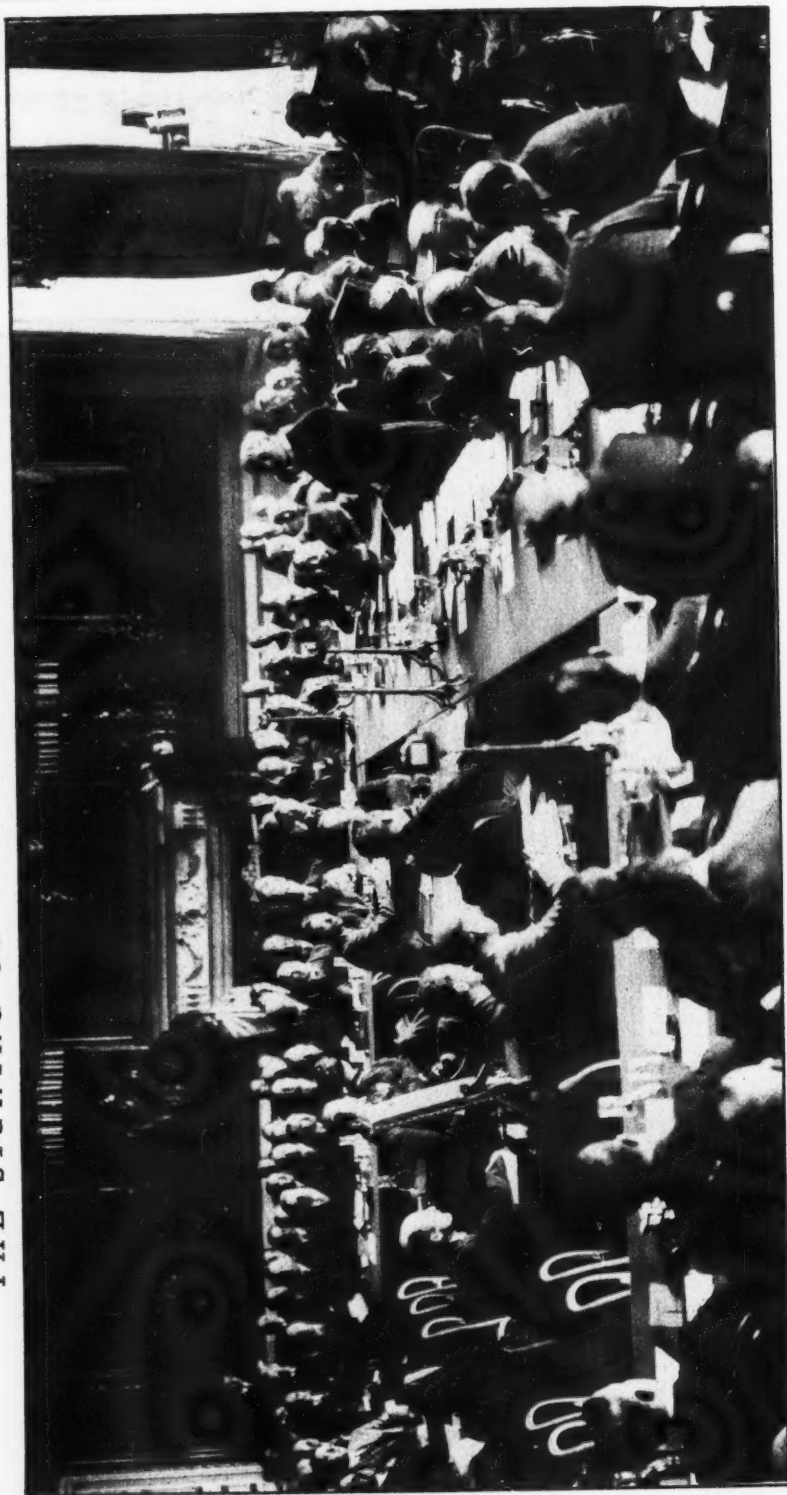


DR. HOWARD HANSON

Alexander Leventon

Director of the Eastman School of Music at Rochester, N. Y., whose native opera, "Merry Mount," depicting Colonial Massachusetts, has been accepted for production by the Metropolitan Opera Company of New York

## THE SIGNING OF THE LONDON NAVAL TREATY



### FINAL SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE

Delegates of the five greatest naval powers assembled for the signing of the London Treaty on April 22 in the Queen Anne drawing room of St. James's Palace. Prime Minister MacDonald, the chairman, is seen making the opening speech

Times Wide World



# Current HISTORY

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## *The London Naval Conference*

By JOHN B. WHITTON

DIRECTOR, PRINCETON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

ON April 22, 1930, after three months' strenuous and delicate negotiations the London naval treaty was finally signed. If ratified it will limit the naval armaments, it is claimed, of 650,000,000 people. The official copy of the treaty was presented to President Hoover by Secretary Stimson on April 30 and transmitted by the President to the Senate on May 1.

Although printed in full elsewhere in this issue, the treaty is so extensive and so complex that its main accomplishments should be summarized here. The stipulations agreed upon may be divided into three parts, as follows: (1) Humanitarian measures; (2) naval limitation provisions; (3) political agreement.

An attempt to attenuate the rigors of submarine warfare is made by Article XXII. Submarines which attack merchant vessels in war time must conform to the rules which apply to aggressive measures carried on by sur-

face warships. Without first having placed passengers, crew and ship's papers in a place of safety, no submarine may sink or incapacitate a merchant vessel. The only exception to this rule arises if the attacked ship is guilty of a persistent refusal to stop on demand, or of active resistance to visit or search. A "place of safety" does not include the ship's boats, unless the circumstances warrant such a conclusion. While this measure is less drastic than the provision contained in the Washington treaty, it has greater chance of being ratified. The Washington stipulation has never received the required unanimous ratification.

Limitation is effected for the various classes of warships, and specifically the following classes: (1) Capital ships; (2) aircraft carriers; (3) cruisers; (4) destroyers and submarines. These classes were limited as follows:

The three powers, Great Britain, Japan and the United States, may lay down no new capital ships until 1936

(Article I). This solution supersedes the Washington treaty program, which permitted the replacement of twenty-six battleships by these three States. This will mean fifteen battleships for Great Britain and this country, and nine for Japan. Furthermore these powers must scrap nine capital ships for replacement: Five by Great Britain, three by the United States, one by Japan (Article II). This naval holiday—prohibition against building until 1936—applies also to France and Italy, except that each may build 70,000 tons, which represents the tonnage allotted them at Washington but which they have not used (Article I).

In regard to aircraft-carriers the limitations remain as fixed by the Washington treaty. Both Great Britain and the United States are entitled to 135,000 tons, with 81,000 tons for Japan. These figures are considerably higher than those suggested by the British delegation on Feb. 8. At that time Great Britain proposed a maximum limit of 100,000 tons for the two leading naval powers. The United States found this proposition unacceptable. Precise rules are prescribed concerning the definition, size, character and acquisition of this type of war vessel (Articles III, IV, V).

The knotty problem of cruisers which failed of solution at the Geneva Conference of 1927 was solved at London. The cruisers of the three powers are limited as follows: The United States is granted eighteen large 10,000-ton cruisers, and 143,500 tons of 6-inch gun cruisers. This makes a total of 323,500 tons. Great Britain may maintain 15 cruisers of 10,000 tons, with 8-inch guns, and 192,200 tons of small cruisers with 6-inch guns. This means a maximum of 339,000 tons. Japan will have 108,400 tons in 10,000 tons, 8-inch cruisers, 100,450 tons in 6-inch cruisers, or a total of 208,850 tons (Article XVI).

Two important comments should be made. Great Britain and the United States, instead of accepting the above figures, which are based on different emphasis upon large and small cruisers,

may each reproduce the same types of cruisers as are built by the other. Thus if Great Britain built as many large cruisers as the United States, she would have the right to only 323,500 tons instead of the total now allotted to her, which is 339,000 tons.

In the second place, Japan, in accepting the above ratio, abandoned her demand for 70 per cent of the American strength in the large cruisers. But at the same time, since the United States may not build more than fifteen large cruisers by 1936 (Article XVIII), Japan will actually enjoy more than 70 per cent during this period. Both parties reserve the right to reopen this question at the next conference.

Both Great Britain and the United States may build 150,000 tons in destroyers. Japan is allotted 105,000 tons. As for submarines, each of the three powers may have 52,700 tons of under-sea craft. All hopes for the abolition of the submarine were abandoned early in the conference.

A large number of stipulations are included in the treaty which, although of importance, are so technical in character that they may not be summarized here. They prescribe rules for scrapping, fix the displacement and specifications of the different categories of warships, limit the size and guns of submarines, define exempt vessels, and fix the age limit of war vessels. One matter of unusual importance is covered in great detail: the question of replacement, which must follow rigid and comprehensive rules.

The following table shows the respective tonnages permitted for the various categories of war vessels:

	U. S. A.	Great Britain.	Japan.
Battleships .....	453,400	472,350	266,070
Aircraft .....	135,000	135,000	81,000
Cruisers .....	323,500	339,000	208,850
Destroyers .....	150,000	150,000	105,000
Submarines .....	52,700	52,700	52,700
	1,114,600	1,149,050	713,620

A "safeguarding clause," the celebrated Article XXI, written into the treaty at the insistence of Great Britain, has political significance of out-

standing importance. This permits any of the three powers to increase its tonnage if, in its own opinion, its national security is materially affected by the new construction of any outside power. All that is required, in order to go beyond the limitations set out in the treaty, is a specific notification to the other two contracting powers. Such a move would entitle the other two powers, in the categories concerned, to increase their tonnage proportionately.

Was the conference a success or a failure? This is a matter for individual judgment, which may be facilitated by listing the credit and debit items marked up by the delegates at London.

It cannot be denied that in many respects the conference was a disappointment. First, no five-power limitation could be realized; most of the restrictions will effect only three powers. Thus one of the main objects of the parleys was frustrated. Second, two projects for abolition had to be utterly abandoned. One, concerning submarines, never had a serious chance to be accepted; the other, the outlawing of capital ships, a project which was quite practicable because of universal doubt concerning the utility of this arm, had to be dropped before American opposition. This stand of ours was said to be inconsistent with President Hoover's declaration last Fall that the United States would follow the other nations in mutual reduction of armament.

It is also urged against the treaty that it makes no material reduction in naval armament. It is true that President Hoover, in his statement of April 11, was able to show a reduction of 500,000 tons by comparing the limitation now accomplished with the British proposals at the ill-fated Geneva conference. But this British proposal was exceedingly high, and was never accepted. Whatever reduction was effected appears very slight, if the actual combat tonnage is employed as the basis of comparison. For example, our naval strength at the opening of the conference was 1,121,000 tons; this is

only 7,000 tons more than the tonnage allotted us at London!

That the treaty will mean considerable saving in expense may be true, but we must meet the fact that immense expenditures for naval armament are still legitimate. The United States, for example, must make a vast outlay if the replacements authorized by the treaty in submarines and destroyers are voted by Congress. Thirty thousand tons of submarines and over one hundred thousand tons in destroyers will become obsolete within the next five years, and thus may be replaced. In fact, in order to achieve parity, it has been estimated that over \$1,000,000,000 must be spent by this country, which means an annual expenditure for a six-year period of \$171,000,000. It should be remarked that in the year 1928 we spent only \$26,000,000 for warship construction. On the other hand, there is no proof that Congress will care to spend such sums; it is possible that once having obtained parity in principle, our government may not insist on achieving it in fact.

The safeguarding clause, it has been claimed, destroys the value of the limitations which were actually accepted by the three powers. If Italy builds, France may increase her navy; Great Britain becoming wary, may, after notification, build beyond the figures set at London. This in turn will permit the United States and Japan to build proportionately. It is, however, quite probable that such a contingency would never arise, and that the *status quo* will therefore be maintained.

A final and most serious attack upon the naval treaty is its failure to solve the great problem of security. Despite heroic but somewhat vacillating efforts, Great Britain was unable to offer to France such assurance of cooperation against a possible aggressor as France esteemed necessary in order to permit a material reduction of her fleet. The great fundamental question of the freedom of the seas, which overshadowed all discussion, was left unanswered. Whether this

failure was due to the American isolationist policy or to the *intransigence* of Italy, the fact remains that the problem of security and sanctions was sidetracked. Without security effective limitation, not to say reduction, appears to be impossible. Some critics go so far as to maintain that the London negotiations have served to weaken the sanctions of the League of Nations. This, they say, was caused by British hesitation to define its obligations under Article XVI of the covenant. If this is true, the naval conference to a certain extent was a step in retrogression.

Certain gains, however, were realized in London. First, a large measure of stabilization of the chief fleets of the world was obtained. This stabilization has long been demanded. Its utility cannot be doubted; it has been urged with insistence even by the big navy men. This gain, however, depends upon the assumption that the safeguarding clause will not be used. A more tangible item on the credit side is the virtual abolition of battleships. It is true that the United States insisted upon the theoretical right to maintain the capital ship, but statesmen and experts agree that no more 35,000-ton, sixteen-inch gun battleships are likely to be built. None have been laid down since 1922. Under the treaty none will be built until 1936. One might inquire, however, whether substantially the same result would not have followed, in all probability, even if the London conference had never been convened. At any rate, while there are sixty-one battleships in existence today, by 1936, through scrapping and the operation of the age limit, only seventeen of these great engines of warfare will remain on the non-obsolete list.

It is difficult to see substantial progress in the "humanizing of the submarine." Those who doubt the probability of another great war consider this measure ill-timed and unnecessary. Those who look for another war believe that, given the exigences of modern warfare, such a limitation would

surely be disregarded in a great conflict. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that no belligerent would lightly challenge the resentment of all mankind by a violation of the treaty through the ruthless and inhuman destruction of merchant vessels.

With regard to economy, it has already been pointed out that the replacement and new construction authorized by the London naval treaty would entail tremendous expense. On the other hand, the treaty may bring such an era of tranquillity that large naval programs, while within the treaty, will not be pushed. Some of the nations have claimed that material economy will be effected by the treaty. On April 16 Japan announced that she will save \$300,000,000, or three-fourths the cost of the great earthquake and fire. Great Britain, according to a British White Paper, will save \$250,000,000 by avoiding the replacement of battleships, \$20,000,000 by scrapping this type of ship, and \$65,000,000 through reduction in expenditures for cruisers, destroyers and submarines.

Perhaps the greatest result of the treaty will be to check the armaments race. This is a real gain, although many were looking for reduction, and not mere limitation. Parity between the two Anglo-Saxon countries and the stabilization of their relations with Japan may usher in a new era of security. Finally, thus far the disarmament activity of the League of Nations has been hampered by the inability of Great Britain and the United States to agree. This has now been accomplished; the League may thus go forward more readily with its comprehensive plan for general disarmament, land, sea and air. This is already being planned, and in fact the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission is expected to be held in November.

The final negotiations leading up to the settlement were not without keen excitement and interest. On April 10, abandoning all hopes for a comprehensive five-power pact, Prime Minister MacDonald announced in the House of



Commons that the United States, Great Britain and Japan had reached an agreement embracing all categories of ships. A political understanding between Great Britain and France, which came close to achievement, had to be abandoned. This was due mostly to the impasse between France and Italy. Thus the only progress possible—a three-power pact—was pushed toward realization.

But since France and Italy were to be under no restriction as to naval construction, Great Britain demanded a "safeguarding clause," allowing her to increase her tonnage beyond treaty limitations in case the programs of these other two nations constituted a danger. Every London paper insisted on such a provision. On April 12 Great Britain refused to accept the American proposal that a counterpart of Article XXI of the Washington treaty be inserted in the London accord. On April 14, at the plenary session, while accord on most points was announced, the safeguarding clause still remained unsettled. Great Britain wanted a more precise statement than the Washington treaty provision, and the right to increase her building without calling a conference as required in this latter treaty. A mere notification to the other two powers she considered sufficient, and it was this solution which was adopted on April 16 after a conference between Mr. Stimson and Mr. MacDonald.

Another point which gave some trouble was the Japanese demand for the right to transfer tonnage, up to 15 per cent, from the destroyer class to the light cruiser class. This demand appeared most insistent on April 12, and continued until April 14, when it was satisfied by allowing such transfer up to 10 per cent of the class into which the transfer is made. This provision was incorporated into Article XVII of the treaty. It should also be noted, with regard to Japan, that on April 17 it was announced that she was not satisfied with the solution concerning cruiser percentages. Her demand for

70 per cent of the tonnage enjoyed by the United States in large cruisers had not been met, and she reserved her right to raise this question again in a later conference. Nevertheless, on April 19, the Japanese Government definitely approved the treaty, but not without some hesitation over the safeguarding clause, which she feared might cause Japan to build ships which she did not need.

Some last-minute differences appeared. On April 18 the United States wished to see in the preamble of the treaty a declaration that the achievement of the London treaty was a result of the new spirit created by the anti-war pact. France and Great Britain believed, and quite properly so, that a similar reference to the work of the League of Nations should be included. After much debate, neither reference was included. It was felt that any such laudatory reference to the League might cause an unwholesome reaction in the United States Senate.

Senator Robinson made an interesting statement on April 20. He declared that "the French said that a mere consultative pact would not take one ton off their navy," and that "no delegation asked the United States to participate in any security pact."

On April 22, in the Queen Anne's drawing room of St. James's Palace, the delegates concluded their labors by signing the treaty. The occasion was marked by lack of pomp, and was exceedingly sober and business-like. The speeches emphasized limitation; reduction was considered the future goal. Above all, it was felt that efforts should not be abandoned for an all-in treaty and for comprehensive reduction. Some of the remarks made by the speakers were significant. Prime Minister MacDonald declared that "compared with Washington and Geneva we have gone far; compared with our desires we are still short." Mr. Stimson said: "As we believe naval limitation of itself increases security, so we look forward in the future to periodically recurring conferences, confident that we shall obtain ever-increasing security

with ever-decreasing armament." On the other hand, M. Briand insisted that real reduction depended on political agreement for the organization of peace—the classical French stand. He promised to make every effort to arrive at an agreement with Italy, and considered the prospects excellent. Ad-

miral Sirianni, Italy, expressed sincere hopes of completing the pact by achieving agreement with France. Finally Reijaro Wakatsuki hinted that while Japan was not wholly satisfied with all the concessions she had to make, her liberty of action would be resumed at the 1935 conference.

## *How the Result Is Viewed in Each Nation*

### I—THE UNITED STATES

By DAVID JAYNE HILL

AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY, 1908-1911

THE CONFERENCE at London for the limitation of naval armaments, after three months of anxious discussion, has ended its perplexities by the signature of a treaty which the United States Senate will be asked to ratify.

The United States participated in this conference with the hope of obtaining by the mutual agreement of the five leading naval powers a limitation and perhaps a reduction in the future construction of ships of war.

As a question of national policy, especially after the general signature of the Briand-Kellogg pact, the limitation of naval construction was in the interest of all the powers, partly for economic reasons and partly for humanitarian considerations. To go on multiplying ships of war when war had been almost universally renounced as an instrument of national policy would appear not only intrinsically unreasonable but an evidence of insincerity which would be provocative of general distrust.

The renunciation of war as a national policy did not, however, in the light of history, warrant the abandonment of national defense, justly recognized in the Briand-Kellogg pact as a sovereign right and political duty which no responsible government would willingly abandon. It was still necessary

to public safety that the high seas should be protected from abuse by irresponsible forces and that navies should continue to be provided and maintained.

Since the limitation of naval construction was plainly desirable and was impossible of attainment under continued competition, the only way in which it could ever be realized was by voluntary agreement among the chief naval powers. Participation in the conference was, therefore, an act of faith in the good sense and the good will of the participating nations.

To those who were well informed it was incredible that a general reduction would result from the London meeting. The only basis for expecting it was the friendly amenities between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain at a fishing camp. When personal sovereigns were the depositaries of supreme power such amenities possessed prophetic value, but the destinies of modern democracies are not thus determined. Behind every delegation in such an international conference are the interests, the traditions and even the superstitions of the nation represented, not to mention its constitutional peculiarities.

The mere fact of an apparent entente between the United States of America

and Great Britain, the two greatest sea powers in the world, was enough to arouse the apprehensions of all the other naval powers. Anglo-Saxon unity in dominating the sea appeared to the latter a menacing spectre. If, instead of sailing directly for America, Premier MacDonald had visited Paris and Rome en route, he might have obtained a clear vision of the hurdles over which he had to vault, in order to carry into effect any understanding he might reach at Washington. When he returned from the hospitality that awaited him on the Rapidan, full of confidence that blood was thicker than water, and that British supremacy on the sea was secure through an understanding with the only possible rival power, he looked upon France, as it had been regarded at Washington in 1921, as a third-class power, and apparently forgot to think of Italy at all. The spectacle of the naval situation as seen from Paris and Rome was not conducive to cooperation. Aside from their own rivalries, and overriding them, they saw an Anglo-American domination of the world through a naval alliance of Great Britain and the United States.

Here in the United States we have sometimes been told that it is our demand for parity with the dominating sea power that is making all the trouble, and that we should therefore recede from it. The conference has disclosed the emptiness of this statement. If the assurances of the British Prime Minister are to be taken at their full value and are permanently supported by British public opinion, American naval parity with Great Britain is in principle conceded. We now know, however, what was already known by the well informed, that the limit of British naval construction and maintenance is not determined by any agreement with America, but by the doctrine of a "double standard," which requires a British Navy as strong as any two navies of the European Continent.

Must the United States then, in order to have parity with Great Britain, build up to this double standard of Great



Underwood

DAVID JAYNE HILL

Britain? Apparently it must do so, unless it is disposed to surrender to a single sea power a preponderant control of the seas. This is the necessity wrapped up in the so-called "escalator" clause of the treaty of London, which makes the size of the British Navy depend upon the size of the navies of Continental Europe in accordance with the double standard theory.

If agreement is to be obtained, it is not good diplomacy for any nation to question the judgment of any other nation regarding its own needs or its sincerity in representing them. The main point is to know what its position is regarding its irreducible minimum. A capable American delegation, after three months of earnest endeavor, has with industry, patience and affability discovered what this minimum is with regard to all the powers concerned, and the treaty just signed states the best results attainable. The alternatives, therefore, are either to accept these results as constituting an agreement, or by failing to agree to resort to building without agreement. The real

question at present is not whether the United States has attained what it was seeking, for it is evident it has not. The real question is, shall the United States accept or abandon the limitation of naval armament by agreement?

The fundamental political question for the United States may be reduced to this: Is naval parity with Great Britain worth what it will cost?

We cannot calculate precisely what naval parity with Great Britain will cost under the treaty of London, because of the conditional clause permitting more building. It will probably cost less under the treaty than it will without it; but, whatever it costs, this parity must be obtained for the following reasons.

Taking into account the growth of the commerce of the United States, the main function of naval defense is not merely to provide armed protection against the invasion of our territory from the sea. The conquest of the air has to a considerable degree changed our situation in that respect both as regards attack and defense. What we need to realize is that the greatest exposure of American interests is on the sea itself.

Long ago the United States, not being then equipped with a powerful navy, proposed and consistently adhered to the doctrine of the immunity of private property at sea in time of war. This was urged strongly at The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907. The obstacle to the acceptance of this doctrine was the supply of contraband to a belligerent, which, it was declared, must be prevented, if necessary by force. Hence the right to visit and search commercial ships, to seize contraband, and to confiscate it and the ship that carried it. Since that time the idea of contraband has been extended to everything that could be of use to an enemy at war, and the World War revealed what that meant for American shipping, including the loss of life by innocent passengers on legitimate voyages.

This experience was the main stimulus to the expansion of the American Navy after the war as necessary to

the safety of American commerce, exposed to destruction through a conflict regarding neutral rights. This exposure was augmented by an attempt to abolish neutral rights altogether through a political compact.

Under the pretext of abolishing war, the covenant of the League of Nations abolished neutrality; that is, neutrality in a war where the Council of the League declares a nation to have violated an obligation of the covenant (Article XVI). In that case the offending nation is held to be at war with every member of the League; that is, there can be for these nations no neutrality. All become involved in the war. It was because of reluctance to abolish its neutrality and to take this vow that the United States, after an exhaustive examination, decided not to join the League.

Being, as it is, a political and military alliance, the League of Nations, if it can function, is the most powerful combination of armed forces in existence. It is subject to no law except its own law, and to no court except its own court, which will judge it by its own law, because there is no other law by which it will consent to be judged (Article XX). The United States is not a party to this military compact. By the terms of it all the other members of the League may be at war with an offending member. The covenant requires the members unitedly, upon advice of the Council of the League, "to *prevent* all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not" (Article XVI).

In the case of such a war, the United States, without its consent, would by armed force be deprived of the use of the sea by an edict of the Council of the League of Nations at any and all parts of the sea where there might be suspicion of exercising any form of the prohibited intercourse; and the United



States would be obliged to submit, under this menace, to the arbitrary will of the Council, or be prepared to resist it. It would thus be confronted at once with the combined opposition of all the naval powers belonging to the League of Nations, including Great Britain, the chief naval power in the world.

This powerful military alliance, having declared in its covenanted obligations what it will do to cut off intercourse with one of its members—which might be China or an American Republic—through persistent propaganda on the part of its friends is urging the United States to forfeit in advance its rights to determine its own neutrality, and thus permit the Council of the League to suspend all intercourse with powers friendly to the United States in case of a quarrel within the League. The voluntary forfeiture by the United States of the right of neutrality in a European, Asiatic or even an American controversy, is now urged as if it were a corollary of the Briand-Kellogg pact, on the ground that without force the pact will be ineffectual. Not content with the pledge of national honor by virtually all sovereign States not to resort to war, but to seek peaceful adjustments, the London conference has revealed a tendency to expect and prepare for future wars by provision for naval expansion as a possible contingency.

There is in these circumstances no occasion for the United States to modify its time-honored policy of neutrality, the ideal of immunity of

private property at sea, and a desire for limitation and reduction of naval armament. After the strenuous efforts put forth by the American delegation at London to reduce the element of force and to promote the element of conciliation in international affairs, it would be a ridiculous moment to yield to any combination of powers the exercise of armed supremacy on the sea.

The treaty of London, it is frankly admitted, is not an absolutely binding engagement. To safeguard the double-standard ambition of Great Britain the allotment of construction is made contingent upon the action of non-signatories. This should not be overstressed, however, for it binds the United States no more than it binds others. We also have our "safeguarding clause." It is found in the Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 7, Clause 13, which imposes upon the Congress not the option but the duty "to provide and maintain a navy." As one of the purposes of the Constitution is "to provide for the common defense," the navy must be adequate for its purpose. We have not only this safeguard, but express provision to prevent the trading away of the navy. A treaty must be ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Senators—a provision that has saved us from many costly errors of judgment. No true lover of his country will wish, for the gratification of his own conceit, to diminish that safeguard. Our delegates sent to negotiate abroad see their country as it is seen by other nations. Our Senators see it as this nation sees itself.

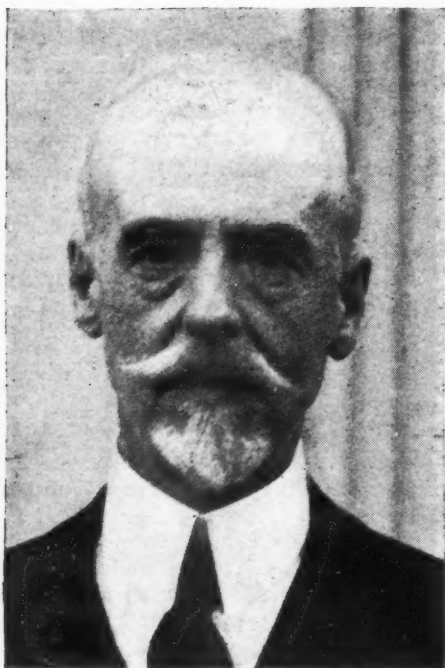
## II—GREAT BRITAIN

By H. WICKHAM STEED

FORMER EDITOR, *The Times*, LONDON  
[By Special Cable to CURRENT HISTORY]

THE PEOPLE of Great Britain regard the London naval treaty with relief rather than with satisfaction. The memory of the vicissitudes of the conference and the bewildering technicalities of the treaty itself have combined to damp their en-

thusiasm. On the other hand the conference seemed so often on the verge of total failure that the signing of some sort of a five-power pact with its definite three-power kernel has been hailed as a welcome escape from difficulties and dangers even more formi-



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H. WICKHAM STEED

dable than those entailed by the breakdown of the three-power conference at Geneva in 1927.

Nevertheless the details of the treaty are depressing to simple souls. They argue that if, after renouncing war through the Kellogg pact, the chief naval powers still need a multitude of complicated provisions to express their fears of being attacked by each other, there will arise still thornier problems of land and air disarmament which will be terribly hard to solve.

These misgivings do not arise from any blindness to the solid results attained in the treaty. Rather do they reflect the deep desire of the British people for the progressive organization of international peace. The general election of May, 1929, really turned on the issue of peace, which the Labor Party alone put to the fore in its electoral appeal. Prime Minister MacDonald's visit to the United States and the Rapidan agreement with President Hoover were the most popular moves undertaken by any British Prime Min-

ister for many years. The prospect of parity with the United States was greeted as the means of removing what might otherwise have been the cause of serious Anglo-American misunderstanding. Parity was not conceived in the spirit of pedantic definition of arithmetical equality of ships and guns which the British people were determined should never be used against the United States. The general British conception of parity does not take into account the technical details; it does not care whether these details appear to give temporary advantage to one side or to the other. It assumes that parity really means a substantial equality in sea power and a readiness to render constructive service to the cause of peace. This is why the Franco-Italian dispute about parity does not appeal to British opinion. As an expression of reciprocal distrust parity is meaningless.

The reasons for British relief at the conclusion of the naval treaty are, first, that the London conference succeeded where the Geneva conference of 1927 failed; second, that the treaty precludes naval rivalry between the United States and Great Britain and Japan for six years, and tends to discountenance any actual building toward the French and Italian maximum programs; third, that the treaty allays international fears of "Anglo-Saxon domination"; fourth, that it preserves the Anglo-French agreement upon the methods for limiting navies, thus clearing a stubborn obstacle from the path of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission at Geneva; fifth, that it encourages hope for a further reduction of navies in the future; sixth, that substantial financial saving has been effected by scrapping old battleships and by refraining from replacing them until 1936, when it is hoped that the naval experts may possibly be persuaded that battleships are white elephants, whose usefulness is wholly out of proportion to their cost. On the other hand, "humanization" of submarine warfare appeals to few people. It is felt that if, despite the League covenant

and the Kellogg pact, war ever does recur it will be unmitigatedly inhuman. "Humanization" on paper is considered worthless.

Among thoughtful Britons the worst defect of the London treaty is deemed to be the absence from the preamble of any mention of the Kellogg pact or of the League covenant. In different ways both these great anti-war instruments tend to safeguard peace. Neither ought to escape recognition in decent international society. British opinion fails to understand why the delegations of the five powers could not agree to cite both. The only explanation suggested is that in their heart of hearts all the delegations were afraid of their true job.

Discretion is doubtless the better part of valor; and prudence is possibly the mother of achievement. World opinion is perhaps not yet ready for a bold attack on the strongholds of the war spirit. But thoughtful Britons are not convinced that the war spirit will ever be vanquished by seeking a cautious equilibrium between weapons which are not intended for use in war. A straight answer is wanted to a straight question: What is the proper function of navies in a presumably warless world?

Behind this question lies another: War having been renounced, should there be no aid for a nation in the right while its fellow signatories of the pact keep the ring or even encourage the

faithless nation by friendly neutrality? In the British view real progress toward general disarmament is impossible until this conundrum is firmly tackled and clearly resolved.

Despite the relief felt at the technical success of the London conference, this is the underlying reason why the treaty arouses such very moderate enthusiasm. It is felt to be a shackled step, not a bold stride in the right direction. It seems a halting advance by nations which, while unanimously declaring peace their supreme goal, yet conceive of peace itself negatively in non-war terms instead of positively as beginning a new, constructive phase of civilization. It was the latent paradox in the conduct of the five powers, all of which have solemnly renounced war, that they debated the niceties of armaments as though war, not peace, were in their minds, that puzzled British opinion during the London conference. And opinion is still puzzled, though it is conscious that something not inconsiderable has been gained. The consolidation and extension of this gain is now thought to be the task awaiting responsible statesmen and the peoples they represent. If mankind can draw courage from the present limited achievement to take this task unfalteringly in hand, the London conference will appear to British eyes, in retrospect, a nobler achievement than it seems today.

LONDON, April 30, 1930.

### III—FRANCE

By J. DOCTEUR

VICE ADMIRAL, FRENCH NAVY

**F**RANCE HAS not forgotten the Washington conference. There we were humiliated by the lack of respect due a great nation which played a prime part in the war and suffered the heaviest losses. The fact that Italy, after waiting with us for a month, obtained the same ratio for ships of the line gave her the idea that she should have parity with France on all points in the future.

In 1927 we declined Mr. Coolidge's invitation to participate in the Geneva conference since the powers which invited us refused to recognize the principles of national alliances and interdependence of armaments. When Mr. MacDonald went to America as an archangel of peace and the cables informed us that an Anglo-American accord had been reached, we did not then expect to be invited to London to make new



VICE ADMIRAL J. DOCTEUR

agreements. Such, however, appeared to be the vague invitation which we received. Although the situation had not in the meanwhile changed for us, we did not want any hindrance to the London conference to be attributed to another abstention on our part. In our memorandum we explained clearly our needs and our program, adding that we could reduce our naval status only in exchange for guarantees of security. From the beginning it was apparent that the conference was not prepared and that before limiting armaments it would be necessary to find a starting point and fix the methods of limitation.

The technical experts, so much abused by Mr. MacDonald in his early discussions, set to work discreetly. There were two opposing methods of limitation, by global tonnage and by categories. The second was defended by the biggest naval powers, anxious to obtain the most minute precision. In a laudable attempt at conciliation, France then offered her proposed compromise, which had already been accepted by

twenty-six nations. After three months of negotiation it was found impossible to agree on the subject, and a note was transmitted to the Preparatory Disarmament Commission at Geneva. This one example suffices to show the absence of method in the work of the London conference.

The discussion between the United States, Great Britain and Japan continued painfully. There appeared the possibility of a three-power accord, but we were unable to accept parity with Italy which would put us in an impossible position of inferiority in the Mediterranean, facing as we do other needs in the North and in distant seas where we have colonies.

Italy, in exchange perhaps for other promises, was ready to abandon the construction of submarines, but to that France, under present conditions, would never consent. It is clear why Great Britain should favor Italy's demand for parity at the lowest figures, since it would facilitate maintenance of the venerable principle of the "Two-Power Standard." The United States understood our position, but our program interested her primarily in so far as it might affect British construction. When the technical discussion ceased to make progress, the conference returned to the question of security.

France, having suffered most in the World War, ardently desires peace. Since the Treaty of Versailles she has sought to have put in operation the covenant of the League of Nations, which the United States has not ratified. Article XVI provides for mutual aid against an aggressor by severing all commercial and financial relations. In this provision is to be found the reason which prevented the United States from joining the League of Nations. The question of the freedom of the seas not having been settled beforehand, it was decided not to tackle it at the conference. The British would not accept a single new ruling which threatened opposition to them in time of conflict, while the Americans wanted to be able to provision belligerents and neutrals.

Unable to retain her naval suprem-



acy, Great Britain preferred for the moment to share it with the United States. At one time there was talk of consultative pacts—a happy idea if America could accept it. Preliminary consultation would delay all further difficulties and would allay the fear which paralyzes Great Britain. With the failure of this proposal it became necessary to fall back on the covenant of the League of Nations. Article XVI was again scrutinized, not in order to modify it, but to interpret it. However, what in diplomacy is called a "formula" could not be found, and this was enough to show what guarantees Article XVI offers.

Mr. MacDonald, a man of many resources, then asked the French delegation what margin of superiority in tonnage France desired over Italy. This figure was worked out and given, but Italy refused to accept it, and this was, except for some technical points embodied in the treaty, the obstacle to a five-power accord. The treaty of London establishes a six-year naval holiday for battleships. France and Italy reserve the right to utilize the replacement tonnage provided for, and France will certainly use it to meet the threat of the two German armored cruisers. The Conference of Ambassadors having made the mistake of authorizing their armament with 281-millimeter guns, no modern cruiser can fight them and none of our old ironclads can meet them on equal terms.

There will, nevertheless, be economy in this provision, but not in the case of light cruisers, which are provided for in the third part and of which there will be considerable construction. It is said that the cost to the United States will be \$600,000,000, but these are the light cruisers which protect or destroy commerce and are the best weapons to assure freedom of the seas.

The second part of the treaty fixes the tonnage and the standard displacement of submarines for all the powers. The fourth article is a quite harmless resolution on the use of submarines against merchant ships. We are far from the ideas of Mr. Root! Submarines should be subjected to the same rules as destroyers or seaplanes. They do not deserve to be banned by maritime law.

Negotiations are to continue between France and Italy with Great Britain as intermediary, and an interested intermediary, too. The safeguarding clause would permit Great Britain to increase her building program ostensibly if the government deficit and unemployment should decrease and if the Labor Cabinet should be overthrown. France runs a greater danger than the powers who accuse her of not having confidence in principles and of demanding guarantees. It is to be feared that special or national interests are not sacrificed to international morality. France does not ask to be protected, but she could not consent to reduce her armaments under pressure from powers which do not wish to give her any guarantee of security.

Does the considerable increase in the cruiser fleet of the United States conform to the spirit of the Briand-Kellogg pact? It is, however, the only means of guaranteeing that in case of war no navy will dare to interfere effectively with American merchant ships. To be sure, the United States is officially indifferent to the opinion of Europe; yet it is Americans who have signed the most important plans for the reorganization of Europe after the war. A nation as great as this, which longs only for peace and the welfare of the world cannot confine itself in selfish isolation and wish to maintain it only by force.

PARIS, April 22, 1930.

## IV—ITALY

By CARLO SCHANZER

MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN SENATE, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER

IT IS CERTAIN that the London naval conference has not achieved the ends for which it was convoked, namely, an agreement between the five chief naval powers of the world on the problem of disarmament as a whole and a reduction of their fleets. The chief result of the conference is the three-power treaty between the oceanic powers. As for the other results, contained in a five-power treaty, they are not, to be sure, without importance, but they are of a predominantly technical character.

As far as the three-power treaty is concerned, Italy welcomes it with sympathy. It must be noted, however, that such a treaty does not represent a result of an integral or definite character, because it leaves unsolved several important and delicate aspects of the problem of naval armaments. Especially for Great Britain, essentially a European as well as a world power, the question of the naval armaments of the Continental European nations is still an open one, for in respect to them Great Britain wishes to maintain intact the principle of the two-power standard. The freedom left to France and Italy in their naval construction programs imparts a precarious character to the three-power treaty, since this freedom cannot but have repercussions on the naval armaments of the United States, of Japan and especially of Great Britain, so much so that these powers have been obliged to safeguard themselves by means of a special clause in the treaty, which permits them to increase their naval construction programs if those of the Continental European powers exceed certain limits.

Italy in any case, we repeat, welcomes the three-power treaty with sympathy, chiefly owing to its political importance. This treaty, in fact, means that the tremendous danger of a con-

flict between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, which had separated at Geneva in 1927 without being able to reach an understanding, has been definitely avoided and that peace in the Pacific is assured. It will result in the saving of enormous wealth, which would have been swallowed up by a continuance of the race of armaments between the oceanic powers, and it means that these countries can look forward with certainty to a period of peaceful development and economic progress, much to the benefit of the economic relations of the whole world.

What is the cause of the failure to bring about a five-power agreement? The answer is quite clear—not only or principally, as some would lead us to believe, on account of the insistence of Italy on the principle of naval parity with France, but also—indeed, chiefly—because of France's demand for a crushing naval superiority over Italy.

The principles on which Italian naval policy in London was based can be summed up as follows:

1. Reduction of armaments to the lowest possible level.
2. The naval needs of the various powers to be determined on a basis of relativity by the application of a ratio between the armaments of the different nations.
3. Practical application of this principle through Italy's demand for naval parity with the strongest Continental European power (Mussolini's principle).

To these Italian principles, France opposed others that were completely different, namely:

1. Increase of naval armaments.
2. Absolute naval needs to be determined on the basis of the security requirements of each power.
3. Refusal to concede the principle of naval parity with Italy and demand

for a strong superiority of the French fleet over the Italian (240,000 tons).

The only power that strenuously defended in London the thesis not only of limitation but also and above all of reduction of naval armaments was Italy. At the first sitting of the conference Signor Grandi declared that, Signor Mussolini having laid down for Italy a vast program of work, which could only be realized through a long period of peace, it was necessary to cause the disastrous race to armaments to cease definitely and without half measures. "If we limit ourselves," said Foreign Minister Grandi on that occasion, "to hunt for formulas and arguments to justify the armaments at present in existence or planned, public opinion in all countries will be disappointed and the London conference will have failed to achieve its purpose." He added the following wise words: "The difficulties with which we are faced are many and may even appear insurmountable if they are attacked with purely technical criteria; but if they are considered from a general political point of view and in the spirit in which the States of the world, and in the first place the five great nations here represented, have signed the solemn pact which has outlawed war, they no longer appear such as to be incapable of being overcome and conquered."

What, instead, was France's attitude throughout the conference? France, whose present naval forces (if we neglect old ships, which no longer have any value for the purposes of war, and ships to be built, which for the present exist only on paper) are approximately equal to Italy's, advanced a demand for a total of 724,000 tons in the various classes of ships, justifying this enormous request on the ground of her absolute needs—the necessity of providing for her safety, of guaranteeing her means of communication and of defending her vast colonial empire.

The theory of absolute needs has never been able to convince us. A country needs a fleet only in so far as fleets exist in other countries. If no other

fleets existed, France in turn would have no need of warships. The theory of the relativity of naval needs, which Italy upheld, appears, instead, more rational and attuned to realities. This theory, besides, is the one which has in practice dominated all naval conferences, including the one just concluded in London.

It follows that any judgment passed on the Italian attitude must substantially depend on whether the Italian thesis of parity with the strongest Continental European power has a truly solid foundation.

Italy, though joined to the Continent, is practically an insular country, enclosed in an inland sea. She lacks several of the most important raw materials and depends entirely on the sea for three-fourths of her supplies. Italy, as a consequence of the present system of alliances, must reckon on attack on all her sea fronts and must defend herself against an economic blockade. France, washed by three seas, need never fear a blockade. Italy, instead—Lord Balfour said so in Washington in 1921—



CARLO SCHANZER

"has five neighbors, each one of which could, if it so wished, blockade the Italian coasts, so that it would not be necessary to disembark troops or engage in battle. Italy would die without being conquered." Therefore, we say, Italy's demand for naval parity with the strongest Continental European power is not, as has been stated, only a question of national prestige and pride, but is for our country a matter of life or death.

On the other hand, is France's demand to have a fleet stronger than Italy's by about 250,000 tons justified? Against whom does France wish to arm so heavily? Can she really believe in the possibility of Italian aggression? Against whom does she deem further guarantees of security necessary? Do the covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg pact count for nothing? And, above all, do the Locarno treaties, by virtue of which Italy, with Great Britain, guarantees the security of France, count for nothing? Is it conceivable that France should ask one of its guarantors, Great Britain, for new guarantees of security against its other guarantor, Italy? Moreover, the French argument of her vast colonial empire that must be defended is not valid. History teaches us that the fate of colonies is not settled locally in the colonies themselves, but in the great battles which decide the outcome of wars.

In the unthinkable and—for us—impossible eventuality of a fratricidal Franco-Italian war, Italy would certainly not scatter her forces by attacking the French colonies; on the other hand, all the French naval forces would be concentrated in an attempt to crush the Italian naval forces. Signor Grandi therefore validly defended in London a just cause, unshakably founded on Italy's geographic, strategic and economic conditions. If he determinedly opposed the French attempt to reach an understanding with British diplomacy on an obligatory interpretation of Article XVI of the covenant, in so doing he defended not only an Italian cause but the cause of the League of Nations

itself, which represents the interests of all European nations except Russia, of the whole of Latin America and of a considerable portion of Asia.

It was perfectly obvious, moreover, that France, even if she had obtained the political guarantees she asked for, would equally have refused naval parity with Italy. We must, unfortunately, see in this an ill-concealed French diffidence toward Italy. If France foresaw that Italy would remain neutral in a future war, she would not care what the Italian naval strength is going to be; if she reckoned on Italy being on her side, instead of neutral, she would be pleased to see a power friendly to herself build a fleet equal to hers.

On the question of submarines, also, Italy courageously followed its program, aiming at a real reduction of armaments. Though the suppression of submarines—the weapons of the less rich countries—caused some perplexity to Italian public opinion, the Italian delegation did not hesitate to propose it, since they approached the problem of submarines against the background of naval problems in general. The Italian proposal of the total abolition of submarines and the simultaneous abolition of the larger battleships, which do not exist in the weaker fleets, was not accepted by the London conference. But it undoubtedly reflects great credit on the Italian delegation and remains appropriate for international discussion in the future.

We may conclude with the satisfaction that the balance-sheet of the London Naval Conference does not close entirely with a deficit for Italy. Italy certainly regrets that the problem of the reduction of naval armaments should have been left without a solution of its most delicate aspect, that is, the aspect that refers to Italy. On the other hand, Italy has not only saved in London, in a diplomatic sense, the principle of naval parity with the strongest Continental European nation, but has emerged from the conference with great moral prestige and with complete liberty of action, which will permit her to put that principle into effect, according



to her own judgment and convenience, with the type of ships and with the rhythm of construction best answering Italian interests.

Similarly, it must be regarded as an Italian victory that the conference has accepted the proposal of a naval holiday for battleships, this suggestion having been made by Signor Mussolini as far back as 1928. One cannot but praise Signor Grandi for having recalled the conference to its real purpose, and obliging it to abandon the different proposals for security pacts, which were entirely outside its scope.

Signor Grandi, with impeccable constancy and logical force, brilliantly defended the Italian thesis from the first to the last sitting of the conference. In difficult circumstances, he resisted, with tenacity and courage, the repeated efforts made to induce him to abandon the principles on which he had founded his diplomatic action. He succeeded in nullifying the threat of a four-power treaty, showing with the firmness of his bearing that Italy would have known how to draw the necessary consequences from such a conclusion, without fear and without sacrificing her principles.

The London conference is over, but the problem of disarmament remains. Its discussion will be resumed elsewhere, and Italy will find herself in future negotiations in a very solid position for having in London, with sincerity and strength, interpreted the conscience of the majority of the peoples of the world, whose ardent desire it is to see finally realized the promises, so often made and not fulfilled, in regard to a radical reduction of armaments.

It must be remembered that the protocol of the London conference is drawn up in such a way as to leave the road open for France and Italy to adhere to it later, when their differences will have been settled by means of further negotiations, in which Great Britain also will participate. In reality, the conference has not ended; it has only been suspended or postponed.

Fortunately, the suspension of the

conference, after all the electricity discharged in London, has led not to greater tension but to a *détente* in Italo-French relations. It has been stated on the French side that if in London it has been impossible to solve the Franco-Italian problem, Franco-Italian conversations can continue, and the future has not been compromised, nor has the door been closed on a possible early solution. We frankly hope that such a solution may be reached, because the problem of Franco-Italian relations—it is clearer today than it ever was in the past—assumes the importance not only of a European but of a world problem. The collaboration of these two nations, which are depositaries of such a large part of modern civilization, is an essential condition of peace, is a necessary premise if Europe is to continue to keep the place in the world it has held in the past. In the same way as Italy, before the conference, attempted to clarify its relations with its neighbor, so is she ready at any time to offer France her hand in friendship, provided France recognizes, without any reservations, that Italy is France's equal, not only as far as naval armaments are concerned, but in a wider sense; failing that, it would be useless for France to hope for a sincere spiritual conciliation and for intimate cooperation between the two Latin nations.

ROME, April 20, 1930.

[Since the above article was written the Italian Cabinet Council, at a meeting on April 30, decided to lay down in the year 1930 warships totaling 42,900 tons and costing about \$40,000,000. This decision followed only a week after the launching of five new units of the Italian fleet totaling more than 30,000 tons. Signor Grandi, in a memorandum presented to the London conference, showed that, considering only modern ships, virtual equality already existed between the French and Italian navies. The ships provided for on April 30 will about equal the French construction program for 1930. Italy believes that parity will eventually become reality.]

## V—JAPAN

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT OF THE OSAKA *Mainichi* AND THE TOKIO *Nichi-Nichi*

FROM THE Japanese point of view the London conference was neither a success nor a failure, but something between the two. The treaty obtained is one of which none of the signatories can be proud. And yet when one considers the difficulties and complexities which beset the conference one may well be thankful for what has been accomplished.

Just a year ago Japan was encouraged by Ambassador Gibson's declaration at Geneva which represented President Hoover's views, and in which he urged "scrapping the term 'limitation' in order to concentrate upon the general reduction of armaments."

When agreement was arrived at by Mr. Hoover and Mr. MacDonald, Japan felt that the cruiser tonnages tentatively allocated to the United States and Great Britain were too large, and that they should be scaled down in conformity to the professed aim of reduction. This Japanese pronouncement was coupled with the contention that she should be allowed to maintain 70 per cent of the biggest navy in the Pacific in auxiliary craft.

At London the American delegation proposed that the United States should have 527,000 tons in cruisers and destroyers, or 539,000 tons in case she should prefer to build 15, instead of 18, 8-inch gun cruisers, and that Japan's allotment in these classes should be 318,600 tons, that is, 60 per cent of the above-named American tonnage. This proposed total for the United States was 77,000 tons more than the tonnage proposed for the same categories by Mr. Hughes at the Washington conference. But Japan was powerless to secure any change in the figures already agreed upon. The only point she could argue was the ratio allotted to her—to raise it to 70 per cent of Amer-

ican force, thus dooming her hope for reduction.

On Feb. 5 the American delegation produced two schedules giving figures for American, British, and Japanese allotments in cruisers, destroyers and submarines. Omitting the figures for Great Britain we have the following tables:

## FIRST SCHEDULE

*The United States*

8-in. cruisers.....	180,000 (18 ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	70,500 (10 Omahas)
6-in. cruisers.....	76,500 (To be built)

Total cruisers.....	327,000
Destroyers.....	200,000
Submarines.....	60,000

Total.....	587,000
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*Japan*

8-in. cruisers.....	108,400 (12 ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	81,455 (17 existing ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	8,800 (To be built)

Total cruisers.....	198,655
Destroyers.....	120,000
Submarines.....	40,000

Total.....	358,655
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## OPTIONAL SCHEDULE

*The United States*

8-in. cruisers.....	150,000 (15 ships)	Japan
6-in. cruisers.....	70,500 (10 Omahas)	81,455
6-in. cruisers.....	118,500 (To be built)	8,800

Total cruisers.....	339,000	198,655
Destroyers.....	200,000	120,000
Submarines.....	60,000	40,000

Total.....	599,000	358,655
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In the first schedule Japan's ratio vis-a-vis America was as follows:

8-inch gun cruisers.....	60 per cent
6-inch gun cruisers.....	61 per cent
Destroyers.....	60 per cent
Submarines.....	66 per cent

The average for the four categories was slightly over 61 per cent. In the optional schedule Japan's ratios were as follows:

8-inch gun cruisers.....	72 per cent
6-inch gun cruisers.....	47 per cent
Destroyers.....	60 per cent
Submarines.....	66 per cent

The average for the four classes was a little over 59 per cent.

Plainly, neither plan harmonized with the Japanese plan. Indeed, the American proposal was a surprise to the Japanese, coming as it did after Wakatsuki had, both at Washington and at London, repeatedly explained that Japan's minimum requirements were 70 per cent of the largest naval force in the Pacific. To be more specific, Japan wanted 70 per cent in 8-inch gun cruisers, taking a smaller percentage in 6-inch gun cruisers and destroyers. In this respect America's optional schedule seemed to meet Japan's requirements so far as 8-inch-gun cruisers were concerned, but it reduced Japan's allotment in 6-inch cruisers to 47 per cent, a ratio which Japan could not accept. Moreover, the optional schedule was merely "optional"; what America really wanted to do with it was so uncertain that for all practical purposes it might well have been disregarded. In submarines the American proposal was entirely unacceptable to Japan. In estimating her requisite tonnage in this class Japan thought not in terms of ratio but in terms of the defense needs imposed upon her by reason of her scattered island possessions. She reasoned that since the function of the submarine was not to fight a submarine it was impracticable to fix a ratio between two submarine forces. Her conclusion was that Japan's peculiar geographical position made it necessary for her to maintain sixty to seventy submarines aggregating somewhere between 70,000 and 80,000 tons, regardless of what America might choose to build in this class. But the American proposal limited Japan's submarine tonnage to 40,000, as compared with 60,000 tons for the United States.

On Feb. 12 the Japanese delegation, acting upon the above ideas, presented to the American delegation two alternative proposals—the first upon the basis of fifteen 8-inch gun 10,000-ton cruisers for the United States, the second on the basis of eighteen such cruisers for that country. Of the two, Japan

preferred the first. The two alternative proposals were as follows:

## PROPOSAL 1

*The United States*

8-in. cruisers.....	150,000	(15 ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	70,500	(10 Omahas)
6-in. cruisers.....	118,500	(To be built)

Total cruisers.....	339,000
Destroyers .....	150,000
Submarines .....	81,000

Total .....570,000

*Japan*

8-in. cruisers.....	108,400	(12 ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	81,455	(17 existing ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	26,300	(To be built)

Total cruisers.....	216,155
Destroyers .....	105,000
Submarines .....	77,900

Total .....399,055

## PROPOSAL 2

*The United States*

8-in. cruisers.....	180,000	(18 ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	70,500	(10 Omahas)
6-in. cruisers.....	76,500	(To be built)

Total cruisers.....	327,000
Destroyers .....	150,000
Submarines .....	81,000

Total .....558,000

*Japan*

8-in. cruisers.....	126,000	(14 ships)
6-in. cruisers.....	81,700	(existing ships)

Total cruisers.....	207,700
Destroyers .....	105,000
Submarines .....	77,900

Total .....390,600

In both proposals Japan suggested that the United States transfer, should she so desire, 21,000 tons from the submarine class to the destroyer category, thus bringing down her (America's) submarine tonnage to 60,000, the total proposed by the American schedule of Feb. 5. Japan, in conformity to her desire for reduction, would have proposed lower figures but for the fact that the cruiser tonnage agreement already reached between the United States and Great Britain could not be altered.

A comparison between the American program of Feb. 5 and the Japanese plan of Feb. 12 reveals a wide chasm. To bridge or rather to narrow it was the object of the repeated conversations between Senator Reed, for the American delegation, and Ambassador Matsudaira, for the Japanese delega-

tion. The agreement arrived at on the basis of an understanding between them was, particularly on the Japanese side, essentially political, an accomplishment of diplomats thinking of the naval problems of the Pacific not in terms of strategy but in terms of peace and friendly cooperation between Japan and the United States. There is reason to believe that Mr. Wakatsuki, head of the Japanese delegation, in approving the Reed-Matsudaira understanding had not consulted his expert advisers—a course which was deeply resented by the naval authorities and created a furor in certain circles in Tokio the consequences of which we have yet to see. Evidently he and Matsudaira acted upon the belief that the naval adjustment satisfactory to the United States, even if it involved a serious sacrifice on the part of the Japanese Navy, would lead to better cooperation between the two nations.

From the purely naval standpoint, the London agreement is far from satisfactory. Leaving out of our consideration America's nebulous and problematical tonnage option, the treaty gives Japan 60 per cent in eight-inch gun cruisers, whereas she considers 70 per cent her irreducible minimum in this category. On the other hand, it gives Japan 70 per cent in six-inch gun cruisers and destroyers, categories in which she would have taken 60 per cent. In submarines she is given an equal tonnage (52,700 tons) with America and Great Britain, whereas she thinks somewhere between 70,000 and 80,000 tons to be her minimum requirement, irrespective of what America may build.

Japan, furthermore, lost her contention, as did Great Britain, that the maximum size of 6-inch-gun cruisers should be limited to something between 7,000 and 8,000 tons. The United States, on the other hand, insisted upon the liberty of each nation to build ships of this class, commonly called "light" cruisers, up to the maximum size of 8-inch-gun cruisers; that is, 10,000

tons. A 10,000-ton cruiser armed with twelve or thirteen 6-inch guns would be as powerful as, if not more powerful than, much smaller 8-inch-gun cruisers, such, for instance, as Japan's four ships of the Kako type, armed with six 8-inch guns. It was, therefore, argued that the American theory of non-limitation would defeat, at least partly, the purpose for which the powers, including the United States, agreed to classify cruisers by gun calibre and to limit total tonnage for each nation by the same classification.

In regard to aircraft carriers, Japan agreed with Great Britain that the total tonnage allotted to Britain and America by the Washington treaty of 1922 should be reduced from 135,000 to 100,000 tons, and that Japan's tonnage for the same should be brought down from 81,000 to 60,000 tons. Not only did America object to this plan of reduction but she proposed that each nation be free to fit its cruisers with aircraft decks. This American proposal met with British and Japanese opposition. The compromise arrived at allows each navy to use for aircraft 25 per cent of the allotted cruiser tonnage.

Under the London treaty America, up to the end of 1936, has a right to build 299,179 tons of new ships—namely, 80,000 tons of 8-inch-gun cruisers, 73,000 tons of 6-inch-gun cruisers, 116,429 tons of destroyers, and 29,750 tons of submarines. Japan in the same period is to build only 70,785 tons, comprising 35,655 tons of 6-inch-gun cruisers, 26,130 tons of destroyers and 12,000 tons of submarines.

Such are the essential points in the London treaty with reference to its bearing upon the Pacific situation. They are the points on which agreement is not, nor should it be regarded as, final. It is encouraging that throughout the conference the American delegates were one and all disposed to make sincere efforts to appreciate Japan's problems and difficulties, a fact which augurs well for the future of Japanese-American relations.



## Text of Naval Treaty

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, ITALY AND JAPAN FOR THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF NAVAL ARMAMENT, SIGNED AT LONDON, APRIL 22, 1930.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,  
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND  
AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS,  
EMPEROR OF INDIA,  
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY, AND  
HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN,

Desiring to prevent the dangers and reduce the burdens inherent in competitive armaments; and

Desiring to carry forward the work begun by the Washington Naval Conference and to facilitate the progressive realization of general limitation and reduction of armaments,

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for the limitation and reduction of naval armament, and have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries,

[Here follow the names of the delegates, which were published in CURRENT HISTORY, March, 1930.]

Who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

### PART I

#### ARTICLE I

The high contracting parties agree not to exercise their rights to lay down the keels of capital ship replacement tonnage during the years 1931-1936, inclusive, as provided in Chapter II, Part 3, of the Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armament signed between them at Washington on the sixth of February, 1922, and referred to in the present treaty as the Washington Treaty.

This provision is without prejudice to the disposition relating to the replacement of ships accidentally lost or destroyed contained in Chapter II, Part 3, Section I, Paragraph (c) of the said treaty.

France and Italy may, however, build the replacement tonnage which they were entitled to lay down in 1927 and 1929 in accordance with the provisions of the said treaty.

#### ARTICLE II

1. The United States, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Japan shall dispose of the following capital ships as provided in this article:

United States: FLORIDA, UTAH, ARKANSAS or WYOMING;

United Kingdom: BENBOW, IRON DUKE, MARLBOROUGH, EMPEROR OF INDIA, TIGER;

Japan: HIYET.

(a) Subject to the provisions of sub-paragraph (b), the above ships, unless converted to target use exclusively in accordance with Chapter II, Part 2, Paragraph II (c) of the Washington Treaty, shall be scrapped in the following manner:

One of the ships to be scrapped by the United States, and two of these to be scrapped by the United Kingdom, shall be rendered unfit for warlike service, in accordance with Chapter II, Part 2, Paragraph III (b) of the Washington Treaty, within twelve months from the coming into force of the present treaty. These ships shall be finally scrapped, in accordance with Paragraph II (a) or (b) of the said Part 2, within twenty-four months of the said

coming into force. In the case of the second of the ships to be scrapped by the United States and of the third and fourth of the ships to be scrapped by the United Kingdom, the said periods shall be eighteen and thirty months, respectively, from the coming into force of the present treaty.

(b) Of the ships to be disposed of under this article, the following may be retained for training purposes:

By the United States: ARKANSAS or WYOMING.

By the United Kingdom: IRON DUKE.

By Japan: HIYET.

These ships shall be reduced to the condition prescribed in Section V of Annex II to Part 2 of the present treaty. The work of reducing these vessels to the required condition shall begin in the case of the United States and the United Kingdom within twelve months, and in the case of Japan within eight months from the coming into force of the present treaty; the work shall be completed within six months of the expiration of the above-mentioned periods.

Any of these ships which are not retained for training purposes shall be rendered unfit for warlike service within eighteen months, and finally scrapped within thirty months, of the coming into force of the present treaty.

2. Subject to any disposal of capital ships which might be necessitated, in accordance with the Washington Treaty, by building by France or Italy of the replacement tonnage referred to in Article I of the present treaty, all existing capital ships mentioned in Chapter II, Part 3, Section II of the Washington Treaty and not designated above to be disposed of may be retained during the term of the present treaty.

3. The right of replacement is not lost by delay in laying down replacement tonnage, and the old vessel may be retained until replaced, even though due for scrapping under Chapter II, Part 3, Section II of the Washington Treaty.

#### ARTICLE III

1. For the purpose of the Washington Treaty, the definition of an aircraft carrier given in Chapter 2, Part 4, of the said treaty is hereby replaced by the following definition:

The expression "aircraft carrier" includes any surface vessel of war, whatever its displacement, designed for the specific and exclusive purpose of carrying aircraft and so constructed that aircraft can be launched therefrom and landed thereon.

2. The fitting of a landing-on or flying-off platform or deck on a capital ship, cruiser or destroyer, provided such vessel was not designed or adapted exclusively as an aircraft carrier, shall not cause any vessel so fitted to be charged to or classified in the category of aircraft carriers.

3. No existing capital ship shall be fitted with a landing-on platform or deck.

#### ARTICLE IV

1. No aircraft carrier of 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) or less standard displacement mounting a gun above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre shall be acquired by, or constructed by or for, any of the high contracting parties.

2. As from the coming into force of the present treaty in respect of all the high contracting parties, no aircraft carrier of 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) or less standard displacement mounting a gun

in excess of 6.1 inches (155 mm.) shall be constructed within the jurisdiction of any of the high contracting parties.

#### ARTICLE V

An aircraft carrier must not be designed and constructed for carrying a more powerful armament than that authorized by Article IX or Article X of the Washington Treaty, or by Article IV of the present treaty, as the case may be. Wherever in the said Articles IX and X of the Washington Treaty the calibre of 6.0 inches (152 mm.) is mentioned, the calibre of 6.1 inches (155 mm.) is substituted therefor.

#### PART 2

##### ARTICLE VI

1. The rules for determining standard displacement prescribed in Chapter 2, Part 4 of the Washington Treaty shall apply to all surface vessels of war of each of the high contracting parties.

2. The standard displacement of a submarine is the surface displacement of the vessel complete (exclusive of the water in non-water-tight structure) fully manned, engined and equipped ready for sea, including all armament and ammunition, equipment, outfit, provisions for crew, miscellaneous stores and implements of every description that are intended to be carried in war, but without fuel, lubricating oil, fresh water or ballast water of any kind on board.

3. Each naval combatant vessel shall be rated at its displacement tonnage when in the standard condition. The word "ton," except in the expression "metric tons," shall be understood to be the ton of 2,240 pounds (1,016 kilos).

##### ARTICLE VII

1. No submarine the standard displacement of which exceeds 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons) or with a gun above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre shall be acquired by or constructed by or for any of the high contracting parties.

2. The high contracting parties may, however, retain, build or acquire a maximum number of three submarines of a standard displacement not exceeding 2,800 tons (2,845 metric tons); these submarines may carry guns not above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre. Within this number, France may retain one unit, already launched, of 2,880 tons (2,926 metric tons), with guns the calibre of which is 8 inches (203 mm.).

3. The high contracting parties may retain the submarines which they possessed on April 1, 1930, having a standard displacement not in excess of 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons) and armed with guns above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre.

4. As from the coming into force of the present treaty in respect of all the high contracting parties, no submarine the standard displacement of which exceeds 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons) or with a gun above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre shall be constructed within the jurisdiction of any of the high contracting parties, except as provided in Paragraph 2 of this article.

##### ARTICLE VIII

Subject to any special agreements which may submit them to limitation, the following vessels are exempt from limitation:

(a) Naval surface combatant vessels of 600 tons (610 metric tons) standard displacement and under.

(b) Naval surface combatant vessels exceeding 600 tons (610 metric tons), but not exceeding 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons) standard displacement, provided they have none of the following characteristics:

(1) Mount a gun above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre.

(2) Mount more than four guns above 3 inches (76 mm.) calibre.

(3) Are designed or fitted to launch torpedoes.

(4) Are designed for a speed greater than twenty knots.

(c) Naval surface vessels not specifically built as fighting ships which are employed on fleet duties or as troop transports or in some other way than as fighting ships, provided they have none of the following characteristics:

(1) Mount a gun above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre.

(2) Mount more than four guns above 3 inch (76 mm.) calibre.

(3) Are designed or fitted to launch torpedoes.

(4) Are designed for a speed greater than twenty knots.

(5) Are protected by armor plate.

(6) Are designed or fitted to launch mines.

(7) Are fitted to receive airplanes on board from the air.

(8) Mount more than one airplane-launching apparatus on the centre line; or two, one on each broadside.

(9) If fitted with any means of launching airplanes into the air, are designed or adapted to operate at sea more than three airplanes.

##### ARTICLE IX

The rules as to replacement contained in Annex I to Part 2 are applicable to vessels of war not exceeding 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement with the exception of aircraft carriers, whose replacement is governed by the provisions of the Washington Treaty.

##### ARTICLE X

Within one month after the date of laying down and the date of completion respectively of each vessel of war, other than capital ships, aircraft carriers and the vessels exempt from limitation under Article VIII, laid down or completed by or for them after the coming into force of the present treaty, the high contracting parties shall communicate to each of the other high contracting parties the information detailed below:

(a) The date of laying the keel and the following particulars:

The classification of the vessel:

Standard displacement in tons and metric tons;

The principle dimensions, namely, length in waterline, extreme beam at or below waterline;

Mean draft at standard displacements;

The calibre of the largest gun.

(b) The date of completion together with the foregoing particulars relating to the vessel at that date.

The information to be given in the case of capital ships and aircraft carriers is governed by the Washington Treaty.

##### ARTICLE XI

Subject to the provisions of Article II of the present treaty, the rules for disposal contained in Annex II to this Part 2 shall be applied to all vessels of war to be disposed of under the treaty, and to aircraft carriers as defined in Article III.

##### ARTICLE XII

1. Subject to any supplementary agreements which may modify as between the high contracting parties concerned the lists in Annex III of this Part 2, the special vessels shown therein may be retained and their tonnage shall not be included in the tonnage subject to limitation.

2. Any other vessel constructed, adapted or acquired to serve the purposes for which these special vessels are retained shall be charged against the tonnage of the appropriate combatant category, according to the characteristics of the vessel, unless such vessel conforms to the characteristics of vessels exempt from limitation under Article VIII.

3. Japan may, however, replace the minelayers Aso and Tokiwa by two new minelayers before Dec. 31, 1936. The standard displacement of each of the new vessels shall not exceed 5,000 tons (5,080 metric tons); their speed shall not exceed twenty knots, and their other characteristics shall conform to the

provisions of paragraph (b) of Article VIII. The new vessels shall be regarded as special vessels and their tonnage shall not be chargeable to the tonnage of any combatant category. The Aso and Tokiwa shall be disposed of in accordance with Section 1 or 2 of Annex II to this Part 2 on completion of the replacement vessels.

4. The Asama, Yakumo, Idzumo, Iwate and Kasuga shall be disposed of as stated in Section 1 or 2 of Annex II to this Part 2 when the first three vessels of the Kuma class have been replaced by new vessels. These three vessels of the Kuma class shall be reduced to the condition prescribed in Section 5, sub-paragraph (b) 2 of Annex II to this Part 2, and are to be used for training ships, and their tonnage shall not thereafter be included in the tonnage subject to limitation.

#### ARTICLE XIII

Existing ships of various types which, prior to the 1st of April, 1930, have been used as stationary training establishments or hulks, may be retained in a non-seagoing condition.

#### ANNEX 1—RULES FOR REPLACEMENT

##### SECTION I

Except as provided in Section 3 of this annex and Annex III of the present treaty, a vessel shall not be replaced before it becomes "over age." A vessel shall be deemed to be "over age" when the following number of years have elapsed since the date of its completion:

(a) For a surface vessel exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons), but not exceeding 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement:

(1) If laid down before the 1st of January, 1920, sixteen years.

(2) If laid down after the 31st of December, 1919, twenty years.

(b) For a surface vessel not exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement:

(1) If laid down before the 1st of January, 1921, twelve years.

(2) If laid down after the 31st of December, 1920, sixteen years.

(c) For a submarine: thirteen years.

The keels of replacement tonnage shall not be laid down more than three years before the year in which a vessel to be replaced becomes "over age," but this period is reduced to two years in the case of any replacement surface vessel not exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

The right of replacement is not lost by delay in laying down replacement tonnage.

##### SECTION II

Except as otherwise provided in the present treaty, the vessel or vessels whose retention would cause the maximum tonnage permitted in the category to be exceeded shall, on the completion or acquisition of the replacement tonnage, be disposed of in accordance with Annex II to this Part 2.

##### SECTION III

In the event of loss or accidental destruction a vessel may be immediately replaced.

#### ANNEX 2—RULES FOR DISPOSAL OF VESSELS OF WAR

The present treaty provides for the disposal of vessels of war in the following ways:

(1) By scrapping (sinking or breaking up).  
(2) By converting the vessel to a hulk.  
(3) By converting the vessel to target use exclusively.

(4) By retaining the vessel exclusively for experimental purposes.

(5) By retaining the vessel exclusively for training purposes. Any vessel of war to be disposed of, other than a capital ship, may either be scrapped or converted to a hulk at the option of the high contracting party concerned.

Vessels, other than capital ships, which have been retained for target usages, experimental or training

purposes shall finally be scrapped or converted to hulks.

#### SECTION I—VESSELS TO BE SCRAPPED

(a) A vessel to be disposed of by scrapping, by reason of its replacement, must be rendered incapable of warlike service within six months of the date of the completion of its successor, or of the first of its successors if there are more than one. If, however, the completion of the new vessel or vessels be delayed, the work of rendering the old vessel incapable of warlike service shall, nevertheless, be completed within four and a half years from the date of laying the keel of the new vessel, or of the first of the new vessels; but should the new vessel, or any of the new vessels be a surface vessel not exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement, this period is reduced to three and a half years.

(b) A vessel to be scrapped shall be considered incapable of warlike service when there shall have been removed and landed or else destroyed in the ship:

(1) All guns and essential parts of guns, fire control tops and revolving parts of all barbettes and turrets;

(2) All hydroelectric machinery for operating turrets;

(3) All fire control instruments and range finders;

(4) All ammunition, explosives, mines and mine rails;

(5) All torpedoes, warheads, torpedo tubes and training racks;

(6) All wireless telegraphy installation;

(7) All main propelling machinery or alternatively the armored conning tower and all side armor plate;

(8) All aircraft cranes, derricks, lifts and launching apparatus. All landing-on or flying-off platforms or alternatively all main propelling machinery;

(9) In addition, in the case of submarines, all main storage batteries, air compressor plants and baler pumps;

(c) Scrapping shall be finally effected in either of the following ways within twelve months of the date on which the work of rendering the vessel incapable of warlike service is due for completion:

(1) Permanent sinking of the vessel;

(2) Breaking the vessel up; this shall always include the destruction or removal of all machinery, boilers and armor, and all deck, side and bottom plating.

#### SECTION II—VESSELS TO BE CONVERTED TO HULKS

A vessel to be disposed of by conversion to a hulk shall be considered finally disposed of when the conditions prescribed in Section I, paragraph (b) have been complied with, omitting sub-paragraphs (6), (7) and (8), and when the following have been effected:

(1) Mutilation beyond repair of all polishing shafts, thrust blocks, turbine gearing or main propelling motors, and turbines or cylinders of main engines.

(2) Removal of propeller boxes.

(3) Removal and breaking up of all aircraft lifts, and the removal of all aircraft cranes, derricks and launching apparatus.

The vessels must be put into the above condition within the same limits of time as provided in Section I for rendering a vessel incapable of warlike service.

#### SECTION III—VESSELS TO BE CONVERTED TO TARGET USE

(a) A vessel to be disposed of by conversion to target use exclusively shall be considered incapable of warlike service when there have been removed and landed, or rendered unserviceable only, the following:

(1) All guns.

(2) All fire control tops and instruments and main fire control communication wiring.

(3) All machinery for operating gun mountings or turrets.

(4) All ammunition, explosives, mines, torpedoes and torpedo tubes.

(5) All aviation facilities and accessories.

The vessel must be put into the above condition within the same limits of time as provided in Section I for rendering a vessel incapable of warlike service.

(b) In addition to the rights already possessed by each high contracting party under the Washington Treaty, each high contracting party is permitted to retain, for target use exclusively, at any one time:

(1) Not more than three vessels (cruisers or destroyers), but of these three vessels only one may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

(2) One submarine.

(c) On retaining a vessel for target use, the high contracting party undertakes not to recondition it for warlike service.

#### SECTION IV—VESSELS RETAINED FOR EXPERIMENTAL PURPOSES

(a) A vessel to be disposed of by conversion to experimental purposes exclusively shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Section III (a), this annex.

(b) Without prejudice to the general rules, and provided that due notice be given to the other high contracting parties, reasonable variation from the conditions prescribed in Section III (a), this annex, in so far as may be necessary for the purposes of a special experiment, may be permitted as a temporary measure.

Any high contracting party taking advantage of this provision is required to furnish full details of any such variation and the period for which they will be required.

(c) Each high contracting party is permitted to retain for experimental purposes, exclusively, at any time:

(1) Not more than two vessels (cruisers or destroyers), but of these two vessels only one may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

(2) One submarine.

(d) The United Kingdom is allowed to retain, in their present conditions, the monitor Roberts, the main armament guns and mountings of which have been mutilated, and the seaplane carrier Ark Royal, until no longer required for experimental purposes. The retention of these two vessels is without prejudice to the retention of vessels permitted under (c) above.

On retaining a vessel for experimental purposes the high contracting party undertakes not to recondition it for warlike service.

#### SECTION V—VESSELS RETAINED FOR TRAINING PURPOSES

(a) In addition to the rights already possessed by each high contracting party under the Washington Treaty, each high contracting party is permitted to retain for training purposes exclusively the following vessels:

United States: One capital ship (ARKANSAS or WYOMING);

France: Two surface vessels, one of which may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement;

United Kingdom: One capital ship (IRON DUKE); Italy: Two surface vessels, one of which may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement;

Japan: One capital ship (HIYEI), three cruisers (KUMA Class).

(b) Vessels retained for training purposes under the provision of paragraph (a) shall, within six months of the date on which they are required to be disposed of, be dealt with as follows:

##### CAPITAL SHIPS

The following is to be carried out:

(1) Removal of main armament guns, revolving parts of all barbettes and turrets; machinery for

operating turrets; but three turrets with their armament may be retained in each ship;

(2) Removal of all ammunition and explosives in excess of the quantity required for target practice training for the guns remaining on board;

(3) Removal of conning tower and the side armor belt between the foremost and aftermost barbettes;

(4) Removal or mutilation of all torpedo tubes;

(5) Removal or mutilation on board of all boilers in excess of the number required for a maximum speed of 18 knots.

#### CRUISERS RETAINED BY FRANCE, ITALY AND JAPAN

(1) Removal of one-half of guns, but four guns of main calibre may be retained on each vessel;

(2) Removal of all torpedo tubes;

(3) Removal of all aviation facilities and accessories;

(4) Removal of one-half of boilers.

(c) The high contracting party concerned undertakes that vessels retained in accordance with the provisions of this section shall not be used for any combatant purpose.

#### ANNEX 3—SPECIAL VESSELS UNITED STATES

Name.	Type of Vessel.	Displacement Tons.
Aroostook, minelayer	.....	4,950
Ogalala, minelayer	.....	4,950
Baltimore, minelayer	.....	4,413
San Francisco, minelayer	.....	4,083
Cheyenne, monitor	.....	2,800
Helena, gunboat	.....	1,392
Isabel, yacht	.....	938
Niagara, yacht	.....	2,600
Bridgeport, destroyer tender	.....	11,750
Dobbin, destroyer tender	.....	12,450
Melville, destroyer tender	.....	7,150
Whitney, destroyer tender	.....	12,450
Holland, submarine tender	.....	11,570
Henderson, naval transport	.....	10,000
Total	.....	91,496

#### FRANCE

Name.	Type of Vessel.	Displacement Tons.
Castor, minelayer	.....	3,150
Pollux, minelayer	.....	2,461
Commandant Teste, seaplane carrier	.....	10,000
Aisne, dispatch vessel	.....	600
Marne, dispatch vessel	.....	600
Ancre, dispatch vessel	.....	604
Scarpe, dispatch vessel	.....	604
Suippe, dispatch vessel	.....	604
Dunkerque, dispatch vessel	.....	604
Laffaux, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Bapaume, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Nancy, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Calais, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Lassigny, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Les Eparges, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Remiremont, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Tahure, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Toul, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Hainault, dispatch vessel	.....	644
Lievin, dispatch vessel	.....	644
(—), net layer	.....	2,293
Total	.....	28,644

#### BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Name.	Type of Vessel.	Displacement Tons.
Adventurer, minelayer (United Kingdom)	.....	6,740
Albatross, seaplane carrier (Australia)	.....	5,000
Erebus, monitor (United Kingdom)	.....	7,200
Terror, monitor (United Kingdom)	.....	7,200
Marshal Soult, monitor (United Kingdom)	.....	6,400
Cilve, sloop (India)	.....	2,021
Medway, submarine depot ship (United Kingdom)	.....	15,000
Total	.....	49,561



## ITALY

Name.	Type of Vessel.	Displacement Tons.
Miragli, seaplane carrier.....		4,880
Faa Dibruno, monitor.....		2,800
Monte Grapha, monitor.....		605
Montello, monitor.....		605
Monte Cengio, ex-monitor.....		500
Monte Novegno, ex-monitor.....		500
Campania, sloop.....		2,070
Total.....		11,960

## JAPAN

Name.	Type of Vessel.	Displacement Tons.
Aso, minelayer.....		7,180
Tokiwa, minelayer.....		9,240
Asama, old cruiser.....		9,240
Yakumo, old cruiser.....		9,010
Isumo, old cruiser.....		9,240
Iwate, old cruiser.....		9,240
Kasuga, old cruiser.....		7,080
Yodo, gunboat.....		1,320
Total.....		61,430

## PART 3

The President of the United States of America, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, have agreed as between themselves to the provisions of this Part 3:

## ARTICLE XIV

The naval combatant vessels of the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations and Japan, other than capital ships, aircraft carriers and all vessels exempt from limitation under Article VIII, shall be limited during the term of the present treaty as provided in this Part 3, and in the case of special vessels, as provided in Article XII.

## ARTICLE XV

For the purpose of this Part 3 the definition of the cruiser and destroyer categories shall be as follows:

## CRUISERS

Surface vessels of war, other than capital ships or aircraft carriers, the standard displacement of which exceeds 1,850 tons (1,880 metric tons), or with a gun above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre.

The cruiser category is divided into the following sub-categories:

- (a) Cruisers carrying a gun above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre;
- (b) Cruisers carrying a gun not above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre.

## DESTROYERS

Surface vessels of war the standard displacement of which does not exceed 1,850 tons (1,880 metric tons), and with a gun not above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre.

## ARTICLE XVI

1. The complete tonnage in the cruiser, destroyer and submarine categories which is not to be exceeded on the 31st of December, 1936, is given in the following table:

Categories.	United States.	United Kingdom.	Japan.
Cruisers:			
(a) With guns of more than 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre.....	180,000 tons (182,880 metric tons)	146,800 tons (149,149 metric tons)	108,400 tons (110,134 metric tons)
(b) With guns of 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre or less.....	143,500 tons (145,796 metric tons)	192,200 tons (195,275 metric tons)	100,450 tons (102,057 metric tons)
Destroyers.....	150,000 tons (152,400 metric tons)	150,000 tons (152,400 metric tons)	105,450 tons (107,188 metric tons)
Submarines.....	52,700 tons (53,543 metric tons)	52,700 tons (53,543 metric tons)	52,700 tons (53,543 metric tons)

2. Vessels which cause the total tonnage in any category to exceed the figures given in the fore-

going table shall be disposed of gradually during the period ending on Dec. 31, 1936.

3. The maximum number of cruisers of sub-categories (a) shall be as follows:

For the United States, 18; for the United Kingdom, 15; for Japan, 12.

4. In the destroyer category not more than 16 per cent of the allowed total tonnage shall be employed in vessels of over 1,500 tons (1,524 metric tons) standard displacement. Destroyers completed or under construction on April 1, 1930, in excess of this project may be retained, but no other destroyers exceeding 1,500 tons (1,524 metric tons) standard displacement shall be constructed or acquired until a reduction of such 16 per cent has been effected.

5. Not more than 25 per cent of the allowed total tonnage in the cruiser category may be fitted with a landing-on-platform or deck for aircraft.

6. It is understood that the submarines referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article VI will be counted as part of the total submarine tonnage of the high contracting parties concerned.

7. The tonnage of any vessels retained under Article XIII or in accordance with Annex II to Part 2 of the present treaty shall not be included in the tonnage subject to limitation.

## ARTICLE XVII

A transfer not exceeding 10 per cent of the allowed total tonnage of the category or sub-category into which the transfer is to be made shall be permitted between cruisers of the sub-category (b) and destroyers.

## ARTICLE XVIII

The United States contemplates the completion by 1935 of fifteen cruisers of sub-category (a) of an aggregate tonnage of 150,000 tons (152,400 metric tons). For each of the remaining three cruisers of sub-category (a) which it is entitled to construct the United States may elect to substitute 15,166 tons (15,409 metric tons) of cruisers of sub-category (b).

Subject to this option the sixteenth unit will not be laid down before 1933 and will not be completed before 1936; the seventeenth will not be laid down before 1934 and will not be completed before 1937; the eighteenth will not be laid down before 1935 and will not be completed before 1938.

## ARTICLE XIX

Except as provided in Article XX, the tonnage laid down in any category subject to limitation in accordance with Article XVI shall not exceed the amount necessary to reach the maximum allowed tonnage of the category, or to replace vessels that become "over age" before Dec. 31, 1936. Nevertheless, replacement tonnage may be laid down for cruisers and submarines that become "over age" in 1937, 1938 and 1939, and for destroyers that become "over age" in 1937 and 1938.

## ARTICLE XX

Notwithstanding the rules for replacement contained in Annex I to Part 2:

(a) The Frobisher and Effingham (United Kingdom) may be disposed of during the year 1936. Apart from the cruisers now under construction, the total replacement tonnage of cruisers to be completed, in the case of the United Kingdom, prior to

Dec. 31, 1936, shall not exceed 91,000 tons (92,456 metric tons).

(b) Japan may replace the Tama by new construction to be completed during the year 1936.

(c) In addition to replacing destroyers becoming "over age" before Dec. 31, 1936, Japan may lay down in each of the years 1935 and 1936 not more than 5,200 tons (5,283 metric tons) to replace part of the vessels that become "over age" in 1935 and 1939.

(d) Japan may anticipate replacement during the term of the present treaty by laying down not more than 19,200 tons (19,507 metric tons) of submarine tonnage, of which not more than 12,000 tons (12,192 metric tons) shall be completed by Dec. 31, 1936.

#### ARTICLE XXI

If, during the term of the present treaty, the requirements of the national security of any high contracting party in respect of vessels of war limited by Part 3 of the present treaty, are in the opinion of that party, materially affected by new construction of any power other than those who have joined in Part 3 of this treaty, that high contracting party will notify the other parties to Part 3 as to the increase required to be made in its own tonnages within one or more of the categories of such vessels of war, specifying particularly the proposed increases and the reasons therefor, and shall be entitled to make such increase. Thereupon the other parties to Part 3 of this treaty shall be entitled to make a proportionate increase in the category or categories specified; and the said other parties shall promptly advise with each other through diplomatic channels as to the situation thus presented.

#### PART 4

#### ARTICLE XXII

The following are accepted as established rules of international law:

(1) In their action with regard to merchant ships, submarines must conform to the rules of international law to which surface vessels are subject.

(2) In particular, except in case of persistent refusal to stop on being duly summoned, or of active resistance to visit or search a warship, whether surface vessel or submarine boat, may not sink or render incapable of navigation a merchant vessel without having first placed passengers, crew and ship's papers in a place of safety. For this purpose the ship's boats are not regarded as a place of safety unless the safety of the passengers and crew is assured, in the existing sea and weather conditions, by the proximity of land, or the presence of another vessel which is in a position to take them on board.

The high contracting parties invite all other powers to express their assent to the above rules.

#### PART 5

#### ARTICLE XXIII

The present treaty shall remain in force until Dec. 31, 1936, subject to the following exceptions:

(1) Part 4 shall remain in force without any limit of duration;

(2) The provisions of Articles III, IV, and V and Article II, so far as may relate to aircraft carriers, shall remain in force for the same period as the Washington Treaty.

Unless the high contracting parties should agree otherwise by reason of a more generally known

agreement limiting naval armaments, to which they all become parties, they shall meet in conference in 1935 to frame a new treaty to replace and to carry out the purposes of the present treaty, it being understood that none of the provisions of the present treaty shall prejudice the attitude of any of the high contracting parties at the conference agreed to.

#### ARTICLE XXIV

1. The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and the ratification shall be deposited at London as soon as possible. Certified copies of all the *procès verbaux* of the deposit of ratification will be transmitted to all the high contracting parties.

2. As soon as the ratifications of the United States of America, of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of each and all of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations as enumerated in the preamble of the present treaty, and of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, have been deposited, the treaty shall come into force in respect of the said high contracting parties.

3. On the date of the coming into force referred to in the preceding paragraphs, Parts 1, 2, 4 and 5 of the present treaty will come into force in respect to the French Republic and the Kingdom of Italy if their ratifications have been deposited at that date; otherwise these parts will come into force in respect of each of these powers on the deposit of their ratifications.

4. The rights and obligations resulting from Part 3 of the present treaty are limited to the high contracting parties mentioned in paragraph 2 of this article.

The high contracting parties will agree as to the date on which and the conditions under which the obligations assumed under the said Part 3 by the high contracting parties mentioned in paragraph 2 of this article will bind them in relation to France and Italy. Such agreement will determine at the same time the obligations of France and Italy in relation to the other high contracting parties.

#### ARTICLE XXV

After the deposit of the ratifications of all the high contracting parties, his Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Northern Ireland will communicate, on their behalf, the provisions inserted in Part 4 of the present treaty to all governments, inviting them to accede thereto definitely and without limit of time.

Such accession shall be effected by a declaration addressed to his Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

#### ARTICLE XXVI

The present treaty of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of his Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted to the governments of all the high contracting parties. In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, the 22d day of April, 1930.

# Trotsky's Own Story of His Life\*

By ALEXANDER BAKSHY

ON NOV. 6, 1879, a family of Jewish farmers by the name of Bronstein, newly settled on the virgin steppes of South Russia, had a son born to them whom they called Leon. Thirty-eight years later, to a day, their son, known then under the assumed name of Leon Trotsky, carried out, together with Lenin and a few other Bolshevik leaders, the victorious revolution which established the Soviet Republic.

The event was the culmination of Trotsky's twenty years' service in the cause of Russian revolution and a prelude to his far-famed activity as a Soviet statesman.

Like other youths of his generation, Trotsky was drawn into the revolutionary movement by the general political atmosphere of the time and the democratic and social sympathies which he acquired in his childhood.

His father started as a small farmer, and by hard labor and stringent economy succeeded after many years in rising to a condition of comparative prosperity. Trotsky's childhood, however, was still spent in the rather drab surroundings of a small mud-house which was the home of the family. Being the youngest child, he was left pretty much to himself, which enabled him to become thoroughly acquainted with all the parts of his father's estate. He was a frequent visitor at the mill and the machine shop, was friendly and often played with the apprentices there, roamed about the large farmyard and its numerous barns, watched the peasant laborers in the fields and explored the countryside. It was during those first contacts with the life of the under dog that he became faintly con-

scious of the disabilities and privileges of different classes.

From this narrow world of an isolated farm, his mind soaked with the impressions of life on the soil, Trotsky was sent, at the age of 9, to a government high school in Odessa. Followed the years of conscientious studying of the school curriculum, marked by the honor of being the star boy in all the grades but otherwise devoid of any stirring events. The single exception was the episode when Trotsky, still a pupil in one of the lower grades, was temporarily expelled from the school for taking part with other boys in a demonstration of childish disapproval against a particularly obnoxious teacher.

To complete his high school education (his school in Odessa lacking the matriculation grade) Trotsky went to Nikolayev, a neighboring town and important shipbuilding and industrial centre. There he soon became acquainted with secret revolutionary literature, and with a group of other boys like himself began to engage in revolutionary propaganda. With them he formed a secret society known as the South Russian Workers' Union, which within a short time came to wield a considerable influence by championing the interests of the workers against their masters. The novelty of their activity caught the local police unawares, and for a few months Trotsky and his friends went on unmolested. But then with one fell swoop, owing to the betrayal by one of their number, the police arrested most of the active members of the organization, and Trotsky among them. This "christening" as a revolutionary came to Trotsky in January, 1898, when he was 18 years old.

For over two years Trotsky was kept in solitary confinement awaiting the decision of the government. He changed

\* The information in this article is derived from Trotsky's autobiography entitled *My Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5).

prisons several times. One of them he describes as follows:

Prisoner's stew was given to me once a day, for dinner. A ration of rye bread, with salt, was breakfast and supper. \* \* \* I didn't have a change of linen. For three months I had to wear the same underwear, and I had no soap. The vermin there were eating me alive. I would set myself to taking one thousand one hundred and eleven steps on the diagonal. That was my nineteenth year. The solitude was unbroken. \* \* \* I didn't have even a book, a piece of paper or a pencil. The cell was never aired. The only way I could gauge the comparative purity of the air was by the grimace that twisted the face of the assistant warden when he sometimes visited me.

But such was the revolutionary fervor of the young prisoner that even in those conditions he found enough strength to compose revolutionary songs, while in other prisons in which he stayed afterward he lost no opportunity to extend his general and political education. Already a rationalist in his views, he amused himself by studying orthodox theology, theological magazines being the only literature obtainable, or conducted inquiries into the origin and significance of freemasonry, a subject on which he wrote a comprehensive treatise, or studied sociology and political theories. By the time he reached Siberia, to which he had been exiled for four years, his views became definitely Marxist and he aligned himself with the Social Democrats in the bitter political discussions which raged between them and the Populists, followers of the more native brand of Socialist theory.

Trotsky's stay in Siberia, in small settlements on the River Lena, lasted two years. The time was occupied with studies, journalistic work and various efforts to support himself and his family, for he had married his first wife, a member of the Nikolayev organization, while in prison in Moscow and had two daughters born in exile. In the Summer of 1902 he succeeded in effecting his escape from exile, answering the call both of freedom and of the rapidly growing revolutionary movement. There was also an additional inducement in the prospect of going

abroad and engaging in revolutionary activities under the personal guidance of the editors of the *Iskra* and particularly of Lenin, who was then the stormy petrel of party politics in Russia.

Without mishaps, but after many exciting adventures, Trotsky finally reached London where as a very promising young revolutionary he was received with open arms by the editors of the *Iskra*. A year's work under their direction and the personal ties thus established helped to clarify his own stand on the questions which began to agitate the inner councils of the Russian Social Democratic party. The disagreement was directly attributable to Lenin's efforts to stiffen the policy of the *Iskra* and to centralize the organization of the party. Axelrod, Martov and Zasulich opposed Lenin's attempts in this direction, and the disagreement, accentuated by the clash of temperaments, eventually led to a formal split between the two groups, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, at the party congress in London in 1902. Trotsky aligned himself with the Mensheviks in opposition to Lenin, taking this stand both on personal and political grounds. His own evidence on this crucial event in his career is very important:

In 1903 the whole point of issue was nothing more than Lenin's desire to get Axelrod and Zasulich off the editorial board. My attitude toward them was full of respect, and there was an element of personal affection as well. Lenin also thought highly of them for what they had done in the past. But he believed that they were becoming an impediment for the future. This led him to conclude that they must be removed from their position of leadership. \* \* \* It was my indignation at his attitude that really led to my parting with him at the second congress.

As to his disagreement with Lenin's advocacy of extreme centralism in party organization, Trotsky's comment is:

I thought of myself as a centralist. But there is no doubt that at that time I did not fully realize what an intense and imperious centralism the revolutionary party would need to lead millions of people in a war against the old order.



For its part, the growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia helped to widen the gap between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, the two factions pursuing ever more divergent policies. Meantime, Trotsky's own position was becoming increasingly more independent. The events of "Bloody Sunday" (Jan. 22, 1905) in St. Petersburg, when thousands of workers were killed and wounded by the government troops, were unmistakable evidence of an approaching revolutionary climax. To Trotsky they meant more than a mere demonstration of political unrest. He saw in them the portent of a coming general strike, with the possibility which it carried of a workers' government supported by the peasantry. Deciding to act on his own, independently of both factions, he succeeded in crossing the frontier, and within a month of "Bloody Sunday" was conducting revolutionary propaganda in Kiev and St. Petersburg, finding secret refuge for himself in houses of friends and sympathizers. His second wife, Sedova, who had preceded him in coming over from abroad, was arrested in St. Petersburg at a May-day meeting, and the entire Menshevik committee with which Trotsky was constantly in contact was trapped by the police as the result of a betrayal by an *agent provocateur*. In the circumstances Trotsky decided to withdraw into the quiet of a country boarding-house in Finland and wait there for further developments.

These came with a sudden crash in the days of the October strike when the rising tide of revolutionary sentiment swept the country and forced the autocracy to acknowledge defeat and promise the nation a parliamentary constitution. With this success of the worker's action the Soviets of Workers' Delegates which sprang up in various centres became a decisive factor in the political situation. Trotsky, whose exceptional oratorical gifts won early recognition from the workers, was now elected the chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Delegates. In addition, he was busily engaged in editing Socialist newspapers which were pub-



LEON TROTSKY

lished openly and defiantly for the first time in the history of Russia, as well as in formulating resolutions and writing appeals and manifestoes. The revolutionists were preparing the masses for a further attack against the government, an attack which Trotsky hoped might lead to a world revolution. But the government, having recovered from its first shock, mobilized its resources and struck back. Early in December the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Delegates was surrounded by troops and all its members arrested. There followed nine months' imprisonment, culminating in a public trial at which Trotsky's speech in defense of the Soviet was hailed as a great achievement. The judges, however, sentenced Trotsky and a number of his colleagues to "enforced exile" in Siberia.

It was not the judges' fault that the sentence was only partly carried out. After journeying under convoy for over thirty days Trotsky and his party reached a place where a halt was made before the last march to their destination, a settlement in the Arctic region.

From there Trotsky made a daring dash for freedom. In a deer-drawn sleigh accompanied by native guides he plunged into the Siberian wilds to emerge safely in civilization after a week's journey, and after covering about 650 miles. Once across the Urals it took Trotsky but a few days to reach St. Petersburg and then Finland, whence finally he effected his escape over the Russian frontier.

Thus started Trotsky's second foreign exile which lasted for ten years, until the overthrow of the autocracy in 1917. The years before the war he spent mostly in Vienna, where he settled with his family, observing the activities of the Socialist parties in Europe, contributing to Russian papers on events abroad, and preaching his own theory of "permanent revolution" in *Pravda*, the paper which he published in Vienna for distribution in Russia.

With the outbreak of the war he had to leave Vienna and move first to Zurich and then to Paris. The event coincided with one of the greatest shocks to his inner life—his profound shame and helpless indignation at the betrayal of the cause of the international solidarity of the workers by the Socialist parties of various countries and particularly by the German Social Democrats, a party that was regarded with almost holy admiration by Russian Marxists. The utter collapse of international socialism made clear to Trotsky, as it also did to Lenin, that the Socialist parties themselves were tainted with capitalist psychology and that their policies and influence had to be fought tooth and nail so that the international proletarian movement might be restored and led to victory. The Russian daily paper *Nashe Slovo*, which he edited in Paris for two years, now became the medium through which he advocated his views. In furtherance of them he also attended the famous conference at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in September, 1915. The draft of the manifesto of this conference was prepared by Trotsky.

In the meantime the Czar's Embassy in Paris, taking advantage of Russia's

position as an ally, bent every effort on securing the expulsion of Trotsky from France. For a long time these efforts proved futile, but at last a convenient excuse was found in the murder of their officer by some Russian soldiers in Marseilles, a crime which the agents of the Czar tried to fasten on the paper published by Trotsky. His protests and explanations pointing definitely to the activities of an *agent-provicateur* were ignored by the French Government, and under an order of deportation he was taken to the Spanish frontier. But he was in Madrid scarcely a week when he was arrested by the Spanish police (apparently on information from Paris), kept a few days in prison and then conveyed to Cadiz to be put aboard a ship sailing to Havana. Only after further protests by Trotsky was he allowed to go to New York instead of Havana. Soon after he left Barcelona, where he had been rejoined by his wife and two sons.

Three weeks after Trotsky's arrival in New York the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, and another month later autocracy was overthrown in Russia. Trotsky observed the familiar outbreak of war hysteria, studied the economic and political significance of America's participation in the war, and preached against imperialism in articles and speeches. At the end of March he sailed with his family to Russia. But the journey was suddenly interrupted at Halifax, where the British authorities forcibly removed him from the ship, and for two months kept him in a concentration camp at Amherst. From this he was released only after the Petrograd Soviet induced the Provisional Government to take action.

On his arrival in Petrograd Trotsky found the Mensheviks and the Populists ranging themselves behind the Provisional Government, which was still trying to fulfill its "obligations" to the Allies. He immediately allied himself with Lenin in demanding termination of war. The July days when the Petrograd workers and some soldiers demonstrated in favor of this demand, ended in brutal reprisal by the Provisional

Government and its supporters. Lenin was accused of treason and had to seek safety in hiding. Similar charges were brought against other Bolshevik leaders. In view of the statements in the press attributing to Trotsky repudiation of the Bolshevik stand, he addressed a letter to the Provisional Government identifying himself with the proscribed Bolshevik leaders. As a consequence he was arrested on a charge of being a German agent.

Trotsky was still in prison when the threatened march on Petrograd by General Kornilov forced the Provisional Government to turn for support to the Bolsheviks. Trotsky was released and went straight from the prison to a meeting with members of the government and the dominant Socialist factions. But Kornilov failed to arrive, for his troops had melted away, while on the other hand the influence of the Bolsheviks began to grow by leaps and bounds. Soon the majority of members of the Petrograd Soviet swung over to the Bolshevik side and Trotsky became its chairman.

From then on, with Lenin still in hiding, Trotsky assumed the leadership of the Bolshevik forces in the Soviet and directed all his energies to the preparation of the final attack against the Provisional Government.

On the night of Oct. 24 (Nov. 6) troops and detachments of workers under orders issued by Trotsky occupied most of the government institutions without meeting any serious resistance. On the following day the Soviet of People's Commissars was formed, with Lenin as its chairman and Trotsky as its Commissar of Foreign Affairs. The very name of the government as the Soviet of People's Commissars, Trotsky claims, was suggested by him.

In his new post Trotsky feels that his principal achievement was his conduct of peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk as the head of the Soviet delegation. His object was to prolong the negotiations and expose the predatory designs of Germany. But when Germany threatened renewal of war if Russia declined to accept her terms, Trotsky, still inclined to play for time, states that he yielded only at the insistence of Lenin that peace should be signed at once. This was done just in time to prevent Germany from marching on Petrograd and Moscow.

Ten days after the signing of the treaty Trotsky's resignation as Commissar of Foreign Affairs and his ap-



Wahre Jacob, Berlin

TROTSKY'S MEMOIRS  
A German satire of Trotsky's self-glorification

pointment as Commissar of War and chairman of the Supreme War Council were announced.

The following three years passed under the sign of civil war. Soviet Russia was pressed on all sides by a ring of enemies who were drawing ever closer together. But one after another these enemies were thrown back or routed—an extraordinary achievement for the freshly recruited and poorly equipped Red army, a great deal of credit for which goes to the organizing work of Trotsky. Living in a train which moved from one front to another, he strengthened the discipline of the troops, secured new drafts and provided food supplies and munitions.

In carrying on this work one of the principal obstacles he encountered was the opposition of irregulars, which was especially entrenched in Tsaritsin under the leadership of Voroshilov. It drew its strength, Trotsky informs us, mostly from the support given it by Stalin, and resulted in a prolonged conflict in which Lenin and Sverdlov played the part of conciliators between Trotsky and Stalin.

Of other military operations engaged in by Trotsky mention should be made of the defense of Petrograd against Yudenich, which, he claims, was organized by him in opposition to Lenin's proposal to surrender the city. In the Polish war Trotsky states that he favored the acceptance of the Polish peace proposals against Lenin, who insisted on a march on Warsaw.

One more important disagreement with Lenin was in connection with Trotsky's policy of stiffening the State control over the trade unions and labor. Lenin opposed this policy and later counteracted it with his New Economic Policy. Seeing that Trotsky's trade union proposals were the alternative to the loosening of war communism, which he unsuccessfully advocated a year earlier, Lenin's coming out with a still more radical proposal could not but meet with Trotsky's immediate agreement. Thus, their differences on the trade union question found their natural solution.

Apart from these few cases of disagreement with Lenin, Trotsky's relations with him were consistently friendly. This found its expression in constant consultations between them and agreements to maintain a joint front against all others; in such documents as Lenin's "certificate" of unbounded confidence in Trotsky's judgment and orders; and finally in Lenin's proposal to Trotsky to form a bloc to fight bureaucracy in the government and the party as represented by Stalin and his supporters.

In the Spring of 1923, when this offer of joint action was made by Lenin, the faction represented by Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev was definitely manoeuvring for position to prepare itself for the struggle for power which was looming on the horizon as a consequence of Lenin's illness. Trotsky, whose name had been always coupled with Lenin's, was obviously the principal rival and therefore the natural target for the group's attack. At the same time the activities of the group, and particularly those of Stalin and his immediate supporters, were meeting with a growing disapproval on the part of the ailing Lenin. Says Trotsky:

Lenin was now preparing not only to remove Stalin from his post of general secretary, but to disqualify him before the party as well. On the question of monopoly of foreign trade, on the national question, on questions of the régime in the party, of the worker-peasant inspection and of the commission of control he was systematically preparing to deliver at the twelfth congress a crushing blow at Stalin as personifying bureaucracy, the mutual shielding among officials, arbitrary rule and general rudeness.

Before this plan could be carried out, however, Lenin suffered a paralytic stroke which deprived him of the power of speech and for the time being of political power as well. Trotsky proceeds:

Stalin knew that a storm was menacing him from Lenin's direction and tried in every way to ingratiate himself with me. He kept repeating that the political report (at the twelfth congress) should be made by the most influential and popular member of the Central Commit-



tee after Lenin [Trotsky] and that the party expected it and would not understand anything else. In his feigned attempts at friendliness, he seemed even more alien than in his frank exhibitions of enmity, the more so because his motives were so obvious. \* \* \* At that time, very close factional conferences were continually being held behind my back. Zinoviev demanded that he be allowed to make the political report. Kamenev was asking the "old Bolsheviks," the majority of whom had at some time left the party for ten or fifteen years, "Are we to allow Trotsky to become the one person empowered to direct the party and the State?" They began more frequently to rake up my past and my old disagreements with Lenin; it became Zinoviev's specialty. In the meantime Lenin's condition took a sharp turn for the worse, so that danger no longer threatened there. The trio decided that the political report should be made by Zinoviev. I raised no objection when after due preparation behind the scenes, the question was put before the Politbureau. Everything bore the stamp of a temporary arrangement. No disagreements were manifest, just as no independent line could be found anywhere in the policy of the trio.

None the less the trio were losing no time in strengthening their own power and prestige and in undermining as much as possible that of Trotsky, who goes on to say:

In the later struggle by Zinoviev and Kamenev against Stalin, the secrets of this period were disclosed by the members of the conspiracy themselves. For it was a real conspiracy. A secret political bureau of seven was formed; it comprised all the members of the official Politbureau except me, and included also Kuybyshev, the present chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. All questions were decided in advance at that secret centre, where the members were bound by mutual vows. They undertook not to engage in polemics against one another and at the same time to seek opportunities to attack me. There were similar centres in the local organizations, and they were connected with the Moscow "seven" by strict discipline. For communication special codes were used. This was a well-organized illegal group within the party, directed originally against one man. Responsible workers in the party and State were systematically selected by the single criterion—Against Trotsky. During the prolonged "interregnum" created by Lenin's illness, this work was carried on tirelessly but still under cover, so that in the event of Lenin's recovery, the mined bridges could be preserved intact. The conspirators

acted by hints. Candidates for posts were required to guess what was wanted of them. Those who "guessed" went up the ladder. In this war a special "careerism" was developed, which later on received unashamed the name of "anti-Trotskyism." Lenin's death freed the conspirators and allowed them to come out into the open.

Lenin died on Jan. 21, 1924. But the public campaign against "Trotskyism" did not start until the Autumn of the same year. Then, says Trotsky, with unparalleled vehemence it "burst forth simultaneously on all platforms, in all pages and columns, in every crack and corner." After this extensive preparation came the gradual divestment of Trotsky of his administrative powers. In January, 1925, he was relieved of his duties as the Commissar of War. "I yielded the military post without a fight," says Trotsky, "with even a sense of relief, since I was thereby wresting from my opponents' hands their weapons of insinuation concerning my military intentions."

A few months later he was made chairman of the Chief Concessions Committee, head of the electro-technical board, and chairman of the scientific-technical board of industry. With his usual thoroughness he plunged into his new work up to his ears, studying, organizing and directing. But the attacks continued:

The Stalin apparatus followed on my heels. Every practical step that I took gave rise to a complicated intrigue behind the scenes; every theoretical conclusion fed the ignorant myth of "Trotskyism." My practical work was performed under impossible conditions. It is no exaggeration to say that much of the creative activity of Stalin and of his assistant, Molotov, was devoted to organizing direct sabotage around me.

Meanwhile, a split within the dominant faction added fresh vigor to the "opposition" led by Trotsky. Stalin's policy toward a self-contained national development met with opposition on the part of his former allies, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who in this respect held to the international view point of Lenin and Trotsky. As a result, a bloc was formed between the two "oppositions," those of Trotsky and of

Zinoviev and Kamenev, and an active campaign was launched to wrest the leadership of the workers from the Stalinists. During 1926 and 1927 meetings of workers were held, at first in private apartments, then in public halls seized in defiance of the authorities, and on two occasions in official street processions oppositionist slogans were displayed by demonstrating groups. As the struggle grew more bitter the Stalin faction met the challenge of the opposition by breaking up its meetings and suppressing its attempts at demonstrations. At the same time it represented the activities of Trotsky and his adherents to the masses as an effort to break up the unity of the working class and as a breach of the party discipline. Further reprisals were threatened against the opposition, and after some vacillation by Zinoviev and Kamenev these two bowed their heads and renounced their oppositionist activities. Trotsky and his followers, however, could not be subdued so easily. So the scourge was applied. By the decision of the fifteenth congress of the Communist party the

opposition en bloc was expelled from the party and its members were handed over to the mercies of the G. P. U.

By virtue of this decision, in January, 1928, Trotsky was banished to Alma-Ata, in Central Asia. He was still recalcitrant, continuing to criticize Stalin's policies and directing as far as he could the activities of his followers. Such defiance of its authority was not to be tolerated by the Stalin government, and in January, 1929, Trotsky was deported to Turkey on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the Soviet régime. There, on the island of Prinkipo, he has been living since, unable to gain admission to any other European country.

Such, in brief, is Trotsky's own story as it emerges from a book which is undoubtedly a historical document of exceptional importance besides being a literary masterpiece in the art of biography with few to equal it in brilliant characterization, mordant wit and stirring incident—a book which no student of the dramatic changes in present-day Russia can afford to leave unread.

# *Alfonso of Spain: As Man and Monarch*

The part played by King Alfonso in aiding the establishment of dictatorship in Spain, his relations with Primo de Rivera, who died on March 16, a few weeks after his retirement, and the monarch's rôle in the recent crisis which has brought General Berenguer to the front, are discussed from two different standpoints in the following articles. Both contributors write from close observation of Spanish affairs.

In the second article, Abbé Alphonse Lugan, already known to CURRENT HISTORY readers from his article on the Spanish dictatorship, published in December, 1929, throws light on the immediate and still generally unknown causes precipitating Primo de Rivera's resignation. Abbé Lugan is a native of France, an eminent Roman Catholic ecclesiastic and an internationally known lecturer and author. He has spent several years in Spain, where he has had access to the most eminent circles of Spanish ecclesiastical and political life.

## I

By FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN

MADRID CORRESPONDENT OF *The New York Times*

WHEN, a few short months ago, King Alfonso was placed before the world in what has always been his true station, that of an absolute monarch, there was universal surprise. It seemed absurd that among all the crowned heads who ruled in Europe fifteen years ago, the King of Spain should survive as the only important one holding absolute sway. The world had always pictured him as a figurehead or as a somewhat irresponsible sports-lover with a tendency toward the lighter side of life, but the world had been misinformed.

This became apparent when a former Premier of Spain made a startling speech in which he condemned Alfonso as having been solely responsible for the dictatorship, a rumor which had, of course, been heard before, and also blamed him for a terrible and inexcusable slaughter in Morocco, implying

that most of the trouble of recent years was a result of Alfonso's lifelong insistence on managing affairs.

Weird and wild have been the tales woven about Alfonso. Certain events indicative of dramatic personal fearlessness have led to such stories as one that Alfonso attended a meeting of anarchists who were plotting to bomb him, and proclaimed himself, remarking: "Here I am! Kill me now if you wish!" That the anarchists missed such an opportunity disproves the legend.

The true stories are no less dramatic. In 1905 when driving through the streets of Paris in a carriage with President Loubet of France, an anarchist, never identified, threw a bomb at the carriage. Numerous bystanders were injured. The 19-year-old King was not only unshaken, but demonstrated remarkable intuition. Standing up in the carriage, he shouted, "*Vive la France!*"

His instantaneous affirmation that he knew France was not responsible for the outrage made him, momentarily at least, tremendously popular in Paris.

Alfonso has been heartily condemned and superbly praised, but no one who knows has ever told exactly what his position has been in Spain, or why, for example, men like Sanchez Guerra should attack him so vigorously.

Born, a posthumous child, on May 17, 1886, Alfonso was a King from birth, but it seemed scarcely possible that this only son of Alfonso XII could live, so small and frail was he. His mother, Maria Christina, the Queen Regent, however, built him up gradually to a healthy condition, and games, hunting, tennis, pelota and all kinds of manual endeavor put strength into lean muscles until, by the time he was crowned, he was a normal boy and a lover of sport.

At the age of 16, he was crowned King in the Chamber of Congress. Immediately after the ceremonies he demonstrated a personal tendency which was to become more marked throughout his reign. The occurrence is told by Count Romanones, later Liberal Premier, one of Spain's richest men.

"When we returned to the palace," said Romanones, "the King, happy and satisfied, proposed to celebrate a Council of Ministers. Sagasta, then Premier and an old man, was not enthusiastic. But he could not refuse. We had to go to the Council Room, one of the saddest and coldest of the Palace. We seated ourselves at the massive table, and the elderly Sagasta, his voice revealing his fatigue, opened the meeting. The King, as though he had never done anything in his life but preside over the Ministers, spoke to the Minister of War, with great assurance and in an imperative tone asking why the military academies had been closed. General Weyler [of Spanish-American War fame] gave him an ample explanation, with his customary laconism. Don Alfonso was not satisfied, opining the schools ought to be opened anew. Don Valeriano [Weyler] replied with respectful force. The discussion took a

dangerous turn and Sagasta was forced to aid the King, who then triumphed. After a brief pause, the Monarch took in his hand the constitution, saying, 'As you have just heard, the constitution confers upon me the right of granting honors, titles and grandeeships. I warn you that I reserve this right to myself completely.' We were all dumfounded. The Duke of Veragua, holder of one of the oldest shields in Spain and a direct descendant of Columbus, replied simply. Asking for the book, he read the next extract, 'No mandate of the King can be carried into effect without being countersigned by a Minister.' It was too bad that Sagasta himself did not rebuke him, too. If he had remonstrated perhaps the constitution would not be in abeyance at the present time as it has been for so long."

Blasco Ibañez accused the King in writing of "being a play King, loving to dress up in an admiral's uniform at two, as a death hussar at three, as a lancer at four. The anxiety of calling attention to himself, of intervening in everything, of making speeches, and generally acting the young man's part of *sympatico* which he is now too old to effect, is always with him." This accusation appears most harsh. Nevertheless, the King appears to enjoy acting his part when he appears in semi-public gatherings and grants private interviews and audiences. He likes people to think him charming, to admire his wit. It seems that he never forgets himself. At formal gatherings he is always grave and every inch a King, but he does not appear as much in public now as he did in the early part of his reign.

Though not a King by divine right, Alfonso's traditions as of combined Bourbon and Habsburg blood have perhaps made him a trifle too imperious and led him to make some serious mistakes, but it can be said with fairness that he knows his country. He knows that it is 45 per cent illiterate, which means that it needs a strong hand to hold the reins. He knows that Spain's politicians have always been greedy and lovers of power. This has



to a great degree justified what most of his former ministers call his interference in public affairs. On his coronation day he took two oaths, one to support the Constitution, the other to work for the good of Spain. While his ministers were fighting among themselves accomplishing little, he felt that the two had become incompatible and in 1923 he finally chose to obey the latter oath and to forget the first. He is undoubtedly the most astute politician in Spain. Even his enemies admit it. Neither can it be questioned that he has a sense of responsibility and has always done his best for his country according to his lights.

Two things that have always stood against King Alfonso in the public's eyes can be easily disposed of. There are no hereditary diseases in his family, and the fact that his children are delicate is a great personal sorrow to him. (Disease is hereditary among the women of his wife's, Queen Victoria's, family.) Without knowing anything about his private life one can say that, except for the usual rumors which attach themselves to Kings, there have never been any public liaisons of any kind, and the King is regarded as honorable even by his ill-wishers. He is never known to have complained because his children's illness has hurt, more than anything else, the stability of the monarchy. It is generally felt in Spain that he is the last King, and this has not strengthened his position.

That Alfonso appreciates a joke was deftly demonstrated in 1905 when he visited the Kaiser in Berlin. Wilhelm II was to welcome him at a formal dinner in French, since Alfonso does not speak German, and the King of Spain was to reply also in French. Wilhelm, however, spoke in German. There was a dead silence. How was Alfonso to answer? He arose amidst an embarrassed silence. In his own Castilian, which only his entourage among those present understood, he delivered his message and sat down. A clever rap at the Kaiser, whom he is said to have disliked personally.

Of his personal bravery there is no



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## KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN

doubt. On May 31, 1906, exactly a year after he was bombed in Paris, he married Victoria Eugenie of Battenburg, niece of Queen Victoria of England. As the bridal party passed through the Calle Mayor after the ceremony, Morral, an anarchist, threw a bomb at the carriage, killing twelve civilians and soldiers and spattering the royal couple with blood. Alfonso did not lose his composure either at the moment or in the confusion that followed. Another attempt to kill the King was made at a review of troops on the Castellana in Madrid when three shots were fired at him. Alfonso's military aides grouped behind him bent low over their horses, afraid the next salvo would enter their midst, but the King, rearing up his horse, which took the shots, dashed forward and rode his would-be assassin down.

Alfonso's enemies assert that as soon as one government came into power in the constitutional days, he started to flirt with the Opposition. He was then able to frighten the government into passing bills he favored. Thus it is held that parliamentarism was never given a real chance in Spain and that governments were so insecure that they rose and fell overnight to the nation's detriment.

That the King carried out this policy most of his former Ministers aver. "I do not deny the popular supposition," Romanones has said, "that the King arranged important affairs on his hunting parties." On these excursions the political leaders of Spain thus talked over and arranged what was to be done.

While a part of this intriguing may have been due to the "will to rule," it also forced many useful measures through an otherwise irresponsible Parliament elected by the political groups, by "fixed polls" in towns and provinces or by exclusive organizations. Moreover it is unjust to hold the King wholly responsible for the rise and fall of parties in the latter days. Army juntas which were practically soviet, Morocco, syndicalism and other factors played a much greater part. If Alfonso did harm, he did more that was good. Some one had to obtain results while the politicians of the Liberal and Conservative parties rotated in power under a system arranged by the two leaders, Canovas and Sagasta, over Alfonso's cradle.

With an English wife and an Austrian mother, Alfonso had a difficult part to play in the World War but whatever occurred behind the scenes, Spain remained neutral, enjoyed a period of prosperity and afterward suffered in common with the rest of the world. She lost all the money made in the World War during the costly Moroccan struggle. At the time there were dangerous Red disturbances, but Spain is solidly Catholic and if necessary the Church could have had these troubles, which were centred only in the big cities, suppressed by the people themselves.

The Moroccan problem continued to be a source of anxiety. In 1909 troops had rebelled against being sent to Melilla and burned down 400 monasteries and buildings in Barcelona during Bloody Week but the trouble had simmered down until Abd-el-Krim took the offensive. There had also been the usual administrative scandals in Morocco. Officers were said to have sold guns to the Moors for profit and there were unpleasant tales about Spanish troops. The King had his favorites sent to the front to command. While General Silvestre, head of the monarch's military household, a position Berenguer relinquished to become Premier, went to the front, Berenguer himself was made High Commissioner of Morocco.

Alfonso was in constant communication with General Silvestre. There seems to be considerable evidence that he ordered Silvestre to advance straight across country to Alhucemas in order to crush the Moors. If he did he was certainly guilty of a grave error in ignoring the experts at the Ministry of War, but army inefficiency may have spurred him to take this step. Silvestre with 21,000 troops left his base of supplies and at Annual, surrounded by a vastly inferior force of Moors, suffered a defeat in which some 12,000 of his men were hacked to pieces. Berenguer, learning before the attack that Silvestre was cut off, had the courage to refuse to go to his relief in spite of sharp censure, "because it means only the useless murder of more untrained troops." The Moors might have entered Melilla itself but a scanty garrison played band music in the streets to deceive the would-be invaders until Berenguer landed with the first relief.

The French press seized on the fact that Alfonso was at Deauville and told of his being surrounded by painted ladies, which made good reading even if untrue. The Spanish Ambassador in Paris was forced to take official steps to stop the scandal. Actually, Alfonso never expected disaster in Morocco, and there was no reason why he should not be at Deauville.

The tragedy of Annual hit Spain

hard. The entire country protested and a parliamentary investigation was begun. The committee is reported to have had telegrams showing to some extent the King's guilt. This committee was to have reported on Sept. 20, but Primo de Rivera became dictator on Sept. 13, 1923, and the committee's findings were destroyed without ever being presented to Parliament.

That the Annual disaster was the only reason for the dictatorship is inexact. It was merely one factor. Even if the committee had reported adversely, which is doubtful, Parliament, largely conservative, would have rejected the report.

The government in power had in 1922 censored a speech made by Alfonso at Cordova in which he spoke feelingly of the "sterility of Parliament and the littleness of politicians." Antonio Maura, the Conservative Premier, in the months before the dictatorship, himself advised the King, along with all the other politicians in Spain, including Sanchez Guerra, to form a dictatorship. Moreover, the army, always the final force to be reckoned with, as it still is, was angry with the politicians for blaming them for the Moroccan disaster. Labor troubles had been rife until Primo de Rivera put them down. Maura said to the King with reference to the army, "Let those govern who impede government." Enemies were urging that the monarchy was in danger.

One can imagine Alfonso reasoning, "Parliament has done nothing but talk during my reign. Now the country is economically upset; there is a tendency toward socialism, particularly in the cities. We are getting nowhere this way and things will go from bad to worse. These fellows are

beginning to hector me personally and this may grow worse. To the devil with the Constitutional part of my oath. Spain needs many things done. She needs unity. Morocco has to be settled." Having made up his mind, the King considered several generals for the dictatorship. He was in San Sebastián when Primo de Rivera indicated he had the army behind him and intended to assume power. Whether Primo forced himself on the King or the King chose him makes no difference. The newspapers unanimously applauded. The King wanted the dictatorship. Alfonso signed decrees and let Primo work.

In 1925 the dictator arranged for cooperation with the French, a clever move, and, himself leading the Spanish



Times Wide World

#### ALFONSO AND DE RIVERA

Caught in an informal moment in conversation with Alexander Moore, the late United States Ambassador

troops, aided in subjecting Abd-el-Krim and ended that terrible waste of blood and treasure. Cambo, the Catalan leader, a financier, who is spoken of today as a coming man, had a deficit of 800,000,000 pesetas in 1921 when he was Finance Minister because of Morocco. This leak was stopped, and all Spain thanked Primo from the heart for the end of the carnage. The dictator was at the zenith of his power, and had he wanted to oust the King, Alfonso would have had to go. This perhaps explains the effusive letter, filled with the familiar personal pronoun *Tu*, with which he reiterated Primo's right to power in 1925. Alfonso, however, cleverly inserted the words, "I want constitutional normality as soon as possible."

The dictator accomplished many things, though they were merely part of a natural twentieth century growth. But he also went too far. He overjudged national potentialities and was poorly advised in finance and business. The King himself questioned privately the effort to stabilize the peseta at an abnormal rate.

Public opinion swung definitely and absolutely against the dictatorship. The King wanted to get rid of Primo, but the dictator had a strong hold. Many people were angry, and the King was anxious lest he would lose his throne when Primo no longer ruled. Primo, who worked too hard and lived too well, began to break up physically and lose his keenness. The feeling that it was the end grew. Primo disbanded the National Bar Association and tried to rearrange the nobility. Business was affected by the fall of the peseta and by industrial control. Those interested wanted the Constitution.

Alfonso saw his opportunity, but the end had to come gracefully. There were many hunting parties, for the King was proceeding in his usual way. A week before Primo's resignation military and civil officers discussed with the King at the palace the question of Primo's successor. Berenguer and Count Guadalhorce were suggested. The King wanted a new man with no prejudices

against him. Primo stood firm. A revolt, reported to have been backed by the King, was prepared in Andalusia, centring at Cadiz. The Dictator, through the efficient secret police force he built up (he had also quadrupled the regular police), knew that these things were going on. He may have considered retiring gracefully, as he had not been able to do before. What happened was that at 4 o'clock one morning he wrote an insulting message to the army leaders, putting himself at their mercy. His resignation followed.

Those who were refused positions under the dictatorship, those who were refused political rights and insulted, as were some of the biggest men in Spain, blamed the King for the too lengthy existence of the dictatorship. The people, many of them, had resented the oppression, which was heavy, and Primo's latter-day ludicrousness. They blamed the King.

Another factor which might have weighed against Alfonso if the reaction had not been checked was the temper of the times. "I am a monarchist," said one of Spain's leading bankers, "but since the war most of us believe that monarchies are rather outgrown. None of us feel quite as strongly about the régime as we used to. In the fifty-three years of my life I have never heard so much talk for and against the monarchy, even among women, who never discussed politics in the past."

When Primo de Rivera fell the anti-government forces exulted, and after Guerra's speech no one, not even monarchists, hastened to shout, "Long live the King." Pamphlets were distributed asking Alfonso to abdicate. The Republicans for several days did all the talking. If Alfonso had been a coward he might have abdicated. Several foreign embassies were worried.

This state of affairs lasted a week. But Berenguer had come down hard on free speech. This gave the Conservatives a chance to organize. The Republicans were silenced. Monarchists, having frightened the King, felt it time to swing into line; the opposition had ex-



hausted itself. Nine days after Sanchez Guerra's speech the Cardinal Primate, the Archbishop of Toledo, admitting in so many words that the situation was dangerous, called on Catholics to support the government. No prominent or responsible leader stated he would be a thoroughgoing Republican.

Primo left Spain with a total debt of about \$4,000,000,000, which is small. Spain has never been in a healthier condition, so orderly and well fed—the best guarantee against a general revolution. But there is no doubt that the King lost personal popularity during the dictatorship. People are monarchists but now no longer necessarily supporters of Alfonso.

Salvador de Madariaga, holder of the Alfonso XIII chair at Oxford, former Secretary of the League of Nations and a leading authority on Spain, wrote within the last few weeks, "Spain's is a case of maladjustment. It is not the King's fault he was born 400 years too late or Spain's that the 400 years have passed." But all Spanish intellectuals are apt to forget the nation's high illit-

eracy quota and the fact that some firm hand is needed in Spain.

Spain needs an intelligent, clever man who has her advancement at heart. She has him in Alfonso, and it looks now as if he had full command of the situation. The Republican parties seem weak and leaderless. Yet the King walks a way full of pitfalls. There is a more modern viewpoint in the country. The people who all thought a republic had a big chance a few weeks ago today think the King has an easy victory in his hands. If they are frightened again they will think the opposite tomorrow. The country will not stand a strict censorship of the press and all the other restrictions forever. The opposition say, perhaps with truth, that they will never have a limited monarchy in fact while Alfonso rules. One can understand why human beings, particularly the scholars, resent absolute rule, why they are angry at the King. One can understand some natural resentment against rule by an absolute and untouchable clique. It will take time to play this game out and decide it.

MADRID, April, 1930.

## II

By ABBE ALPHONSE LUGAN

AUTHOR OF *Spain Under Alfonso XIII*

THE STRENGTH and prestige of Primo de Rivera as Spain's Dictator had steadily diminished, and his position during the last year of his rule became more and more untenable. The former Ministers of the old monarchist parties with but few exceptions had turned against him, as well as against the King who had brought him into power and who supported him. This was the case with Señor Cambo, Antonio Maura, Sanchez Guerra and others. The same was true of the Republicans and Socialists; though the latter had been specially favored by de Rivera, at their congress held on Aug. 13, 1929, they flatly refused his favors. The intellectuals—

university professors and students alike—were hostile to him. His only support came from a section of the army, certain business circles which desired tranquillity, and the old conservative Catholics. That the Dictator himself realized the precariousness of his position was shown by his statement published on Dec. 12, 1929, in the *Nacion*, his official organ, in which he admitted that practically all classes were opposed to him, each for its own reasons.

Foreseeing the coming débâcle, especially after the fall of the peseta, and perceiving that the King was alarmed and on the point of deserting him, de Rivera had recourse to a desperate expedient. His coup d'état had been, if

not approved by the army and navy, at least accepted after its success had been assured by a strong group of army and navy officers. He now turned to them and asked them point blank if they still gave him their confidence. He later admitted that he had taken this step at a moment when he had "not been the master of his nerves." When he received, evidently at the instigation of the King, a negative answer, he resigned.

On the same day the King replaced him with General D'amaso Berenguer, former Military Governor of Morocco. This was the same Berenguer who had been exiled by Primo in 1924, on the ground that he had been responsible for the disastrous defeat of the Spanish army at Annual. Herein lay the origin of the De Rivera Dictatorship; the King and the military camerilla wished to avoid the inevitable revelations of an official investigation ordered by Parliament to determine the responsibility for the defeat; for the King, by his personal orders to Berenguer, had himself precipitated the disaster. Primo, to save the dynasty, substituted his own tribunal and exiled Berenguer *pour la forme*. He was soon recalled, however, and appointed Military Commander of the King's Household. Thus the King turned again to an army General to save the monarchy.

These things are known. But what is not known, what the Spanish press did not reveal nor the French press apparently know, is a chain of momentous events which in the last half year shook the government to its foundations. Nothing less than a revolution was brewing. In October, 1929, the liberal elements began to prepare an uprising which was to lead to the proclamation of a republic. They had secured the support of the army, especially of the artillery, who were greatly excited by the Dictator's alleged infringement of their rights. The centre of the projected rebellion was in the Southern provinces, at Cadiz, Seville, Jaen and Malaga. It was headed by General Goded, Governor of Cadiz.

Because of the extent of this move-

ment, it was impossible to keep it secret. But for the same reason the Dictator and the King were powerless to suppress it. They tried to do so, however, by arresting at Seville two officers of high rank who were carrying on propaganda for the revolution. But the Seville garrison, commanded by Don Carlos, the King's own brother-in-law, compelled the authorities to release these officers. This explains why the question of removing the commander of the garrison from his post was repeatedly discussed in the papers. Police raids on suspected officers proved equally vain. Not only the republican elements of the army but also civilians of all parties and all social classes were in the plot. The insurrection was to break out on Feb. 5-8.

At the last Council of Ministers held at the Palace before the Dictator's resignation, De Rivera proposed Goded's dismissal. General Anido, Minister of the Interior, whose iron hand had for six years held every rebellious movement in check, opposed this step. Well informed by his officials, he knew what would happen if this were done. But the Dictator persisted, and sent General Muslera to Jaen to obtain Goded's resignation. But Goded refused to resign.

The Court was greatly alarmed. Some days before a Spanish Princess had been hissed in a public theatre; students had rioted in the streets, crying "Down with the monarchy!" A sign had been tied to the iron bars of the Palace bearing the words, "This house to let." Again Anido declared that the insurrectionary movement could not be crushed.

It was at this juncture that the Dictator—doubtless at the King's instigation—extricated the latter from his dilemma by precipitating his own downfall. Supported, as he imagined, by the army as well as by the Sovereign, he conceived the bizarre idea of obtaining a public assurance of this support. But the seventeen captains-general convened in session all replied that neither the army nor the country desired a continuance of the Dictator-

ship, and Primo realized too late that in a moment of nervous depression he had made a foolish move.

When he presented himself the next day at the palace, the King, who knew of what had occurred, told him at once that he was aware of his decision and that he accepted it. The Dictator tried to save himself by presenting a list of Ministers which he had drawn up and which would make matters right without sacrificing himself. The King tore it up. So the man who had begun to rule six years before at the will of the King laid down his rule again at the King's desire.

Meanwhile, in the South all was in readiness for the uprising. Squadrons of airplanes commanded by the celebrated aviator Franco, who was out of favor, were ready to aid the insurgents and to prevent the African army from coming to the Dictator's aid. A provisional government was to be formed, headed by Sanchez Guerra, former head of the Liberal Monarchist Conservative party, who had voluntarily exiled himself rather than accept the Dictatorship, and had subsequently headed an unsuccessful revolution which had led to his arrest and release after a sensational trial at Valencia. The navy had pledged its support.

Alfonso XIII then took a clever step by calling General Goded to Madrid. It is said that Goded was hissed at the Cadiz station as he was leaving for the capitol by a band of insurgents who foresaw a trap. Moreover he had declared that though he was willing to aid a political revolt, he refused to favor a social revolution.

At Madrid the King informed Goded of De Rivera's resignation and of the appointment of General Berenguer as Premier, and offered him a portfolio in the latter's Cabinet. He refused, but



Public Ledger, Philadelphia

WOBBLING?

he at once hastened to announce to the leaders of the insurrection and to the aviators who awaited only his orders, the end of the Dictatorship and the King's capitulation. The National Assembly would be dissolved, all the officers who had been punished would be restored to their former status, the claims of the students would be granted, the university professors would be allowed to resume their courses, complete amnesty for political crimes would be assured, and the Constitution of 1876 re-established, paving the way to free and honest elections.

Confronted by this clear and unambiguous surrender, the insurgents consented to defer their plan of military and civilian revolt. But trouble was not yet over. A military crisis, always so dangerous to Spain, was avoided, but it involved other crises. The political

crisis, the crisis of the régime, as we may call it, began on Jan. 28 with the resignation of the Dictator.

The King's manoeuvre had made it possible to avoid a revolution attended by bloodshed. The transition period was relatively calm. But from the Spanish papers themselves, namely those not so severely censored as others, we learn of certain significant occurrences not reported in the French press. At Seville on Feb. 6, after the service in the honor of Queen Christina, a great throng followed the Town Council, which had attended, shouting, hissing, and demanding its resignation which they obtained. In Madrid bands of students moved through the streets shouting "Down with the King!" and "Long live the republic!" They also burned down the news stand of *El Debate*, one of the Dictator's strongest newspaper supporters. At Santiago Armando Cartroviejo, the eminent Catholic sociologist who had been exiled, was borne in triumph by the students through the university hall where he lectured on law. At Barcelona the student Sbert, who had been exiled to Majorca, was received on Feb. 7 in great triumph. Such demonstrations were multiplied in all the great intellectual centres. On Feb. 11 Professor Unamuno on his return from exile, delivered a frankly republican and anti-clerical speech.

Both the Left and Right parties, which had been repressed for six years, were somewhat at a loss. The Dictatorship had now almost no partisans in the Right wing. The patriotic unions were everywhere being dissolved. Primo de Rivera had fled to Paris, and his pictures and busts were being destroyed.

The conservative elements of the old parties were and still are very much divided. Some, in agreement with Ossorio-Gallardo and Cambo, would like to have the Constitution of 1876 re-established with King and Parliament, but believe in proceeding slowly by means of municipal and provincial elections. Others, whose ideas are not

very clear, have no confidence in the King, whom they consider chiefly to blame for all that has happened. Though they do not yet dare to declare themselves Republicans, they expect the nation to decide the question in the elections which they wish to have held soon. Sanchez Guerra, whose prestige is now enormous among all parties, is at the head of this group. Around him are grouped such old Conservatives as Burgos y Mazo, Bugalall, Sanchez de Toca and so forth.

In this connection we must bear in mind a fact of capital importance because of the influence it will have on future Spanish policy. When the Dictator and the King decided to establish a National Assembly of their own choice without election, a committee was organized in Madrid composed of Right and Left elements, who, without abandoning their individual political credos, pledged themselves to work for the overthrow of the Dictatorship, and when this was accomplished, to fix responsibilities and establish a Constitution which would prevent any recurrence of such an adventure. All who took this pledge recognized Sanchez Guerra as their leader.

The parties of the extreme Left were also active. Thanks to the inexplicable connivance of Primo de Rivera, the Socialists were politically the best organized party group in Spain. In speeches delivered on Feb. 11 to celebrate the anniversary of the Spanish Republic of 1872, the radicals, Lerroux and Salmeron, attacked the King directly for his alleged responsibility for the defeat of Annual. "If General Berenguer is really guilty of the disaster of Annual," said Lerroux, "he cannot remain a minute at the head of the government; if he is not guilty, we must find out who is." The same day Alcala Tamora, former Monarchist Liberal Minister, declared at Grenada that the elections must take place without delay, that the Cortes must be convened and must be allowed to determine what régime would be suitable for Spain. On Feb. 25 Señor Burgos of Mazo, Mon-



archist of the Right, made a similar demand, but added: "and [the Cortes must] decide if Sovereignty shall have its source in the monarchy or in the nation."

This was only a prelude to the speech delivered on Feb. 28 by Sanchez Guerra, the main ideas of which were as follows: Spain, he said, must govern itself. Under Alfonso XII, at certain critical periods, the monarchy was saved by the authority of Señor Sagasta and also by the loyalty of Queen Maria Christina. This resulted in bringing over to the monarchy a great number of professors and eminent Republicans. But today all the younger generation are with the Republic, or at least, nearly so. Sanchez Guerra severely criticised the work of the Dictatorship, which, he declared, had been cruel, though not bloody. He added:

We must demand that the responsibilities of the Dictatorship be recognized. The Constitutional irresponsibility of the Crown has been the cause of the Republican propaganda which I observe today

with sorrow. I consider it impossible for this irresponsibility to continue.

The elections must be honestly and fairly conducted, said Sanchez Guerra, and must lead to the formation of a Parliament and to the establishment of a Constitution, conformable to the desires and needs of the country. Though himself a Constitutional Monarchist, he recognized the nation's right to be a republic. He severely blamed the policy of the courtiers surrounding the monarchy.

It is said that the King listened in on Sanchez Guerra's speech over the radio. The speech made a tremendous impression in Spain. "It has not destroyed the house," commented one personage very near to the King, "but it has shaken it." The rulers immediately realized the danger of the situation. They declared that the monarchy would be vigorously defended, and that the censorship would be made more rigorous. Are we to witness a second Dictatorship and all the tragic dangers that this will entail?

PARIS, March, 1930.



Etching by Leon West in *Vivid Spain* (Chapple Publishing Company)

# *The Equality of the States*

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN,  
BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

ONE OF THE undeniable facts inherent in that great complex, the United States, is that all its members are equal. Every State has an equal share in the election of Senators and a proportional share in the election of Representatives. All general laws apply equally within the boundaries of every State. The limitations laid on the States as to their relation to treaties, legal tender, import and tonnage duties, apply equally to all the constituent members of the Union. The relation of the Federal courts to the State judiciaries are everywhere the same. The inhibitions in the original Constitution and the amendments permit no distinction between States. "An indivisible union of indestructible States," is a favorite phrase.

Nevertheless, in practice, variations in natural conditions and in length of statehood have caused considerable differences among the forty-eight equal members of the Union. The original Thirteen States, with great generosity and foresight, asked for no privileged status as against newcomers, who, one by one, were admitted into the Union from the Western territory, and from the Louisiana, Texas, Oregon and California annexations.

As a political fact the States of the Union are unequal in area, production, population and natural resources. The seacoast States, of course, contain the only ports in direct connection with other lands. Hence, perhaps, the insistence of some of the Great Lake States that they shall have a canal connection either by the St. Lawrence or the Hudson, giving them a direct channel for import and export trade. The mountain States, both east and west, on the other hand, are endowed by nature with water power, and bid fair to balance

the other parts of the Union which have coal and oil. How far the sharing of such privileges by a group of States may cause bad blood is shown by the unceasing difficulties in apportioning among rival claimants the blessings of water power and irrigation.

In the history of the country rival groups of States have repeatedly been formed. Even during the Revolution the Northern, Middle and Southern communities were gathered into conflicting groups. Later the rivalry between the New England, the Middle and the Southern States delayed the formation of a Constitution; and it nearly destroyed the Union when the vast area west of the Mississippi came to be added to the national territory. Gradually the division fell into two groups, North and South, a division based on both social and economic differences, but accentuated by the belief in the North that the system of slavery, which finally came to exist only in the South, gave greater wealth and power to the individual voter and statesman than the Northern system of free labor. One of the wonders of the world's history has been the gradual political and economic reunion of the North and South after nearly a century of division.

With the exception of a few States in regions characterized by vast areas of arid land, nearly every one of the Western States has a population sufficient to carry on a vigorous modern community. As for the East, the two traditional "small States," Rhode Island and Delaware, continue active members of the Union. Nevertheless, rivalries are sharpened by the patent fact that, in the national Senate, Senators from a group of twenty-five States having an aggregate population of 20,200,000 can

make up a majority as against the twenty-three remaining States with a population of 86,500,000. That is what equality of States in the Senate might lead to. On the other hand, in the House of Representatives the fifteen most populous States in the Union, including New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, California, Missouri and Texas, could at all times, if united, outvote the Representatives of the other thirty-three States of the Union. What prevents this grinding down of the small States by the large? The answer is the wide geographical distribution of the most populous States and the party system, which makes it practically impossible to mass the votes of a small group of big States against those of a large group of small States.

"Invisible government," a term first naturalized by Elihu Root, exists in Congress as well as in State Legislatures; solid votes of North against South, or East against West, have been very uncommon since the close of reconstruction. Even the tariff has ceased to be the affair of the Northeastern States. Texas and North Carolina, for example, now send high-tariff Republicans to Congress.

In the curiously involved procedure of the national House and Senate, seniority goes further than sectional or State rivalries. In either house a man, backed by a steady constituency, rises to power, and to a considerable degree confers prestige on his State, by arriving at powerful committee places along the path of seniority. It is perfectly well known that the States whose Senators and Representatives hold their seats longest in Washington wield influence out of proportion to the population or wealth of their constituencies.

Early commentators on the Federal Constitution predicted that it would collapse through the jealousy and hatred of the different sections. The earliest sectional division was that of the maritime States against the agricultural. The division between free and slave-holding States eventually revealed itself as a rivalry between free farms and slave plantations, and the

controversy tended to diminish the direct influence of such seasoned States as Massachusetts and South Carolina over their neighbors. When the Civil War came, these States were backed by neighboring States, whose superior population compelled them to stand by their rival governments.

After the Civil War, Massachusetts was transformed from a maritime to a manufacturing community, and South Carolina into a cotton-producing State as opposed to the more diversified agriculture of its neighbors. Very soon the New Englanders were making cotton cloth from the staple of the South Atlantic States. In this joint industry the North long made most of the profit. Now she suffers from the decline in textiles.

For a time it looked as if the Western States, with their staple crops, largely grown for export, would remain arrayed against the manufacturing States. When manufactures at last spread west to Ohio and Michigan and Illinois, and southward to North Carolina and Alabama, something like a balance of commercial equality was established with the East. During the last thirty years the manufacturing States have visibly gained ground in Federal legislation. In the recent debates on the pending tariff, friends of protection could be found from States and representative districts in almost every part of the Union. States such as Iowa and Oklahoma and Oregon, which get their living principally from the soil, are not equal in number or voting power to the protectionist States.

Questions of immigration are entangled with the effort to give to the Southwestern and Far-Western communities a wage population resembling in numbers that of the Eastern and Middle States. Texas and Arizona and the Rocky Mountain States are trying to reach equality by a form of coolie labor which has many characteristics of old-time slavery. It is establishing ghettos of foreign-speaking, low-standard people who will never be admitted to citizenship by the dominant population in the States affected. Economic unequal-

ity among the States cannot be remedied by any such system of labor.

Just now the whole country is agitated by questions of various regions within the authority of the United States, which have not yet achieved statehood. The forty-eight States with the District of Columbia completely fill the area of that portion of the United States which is represented in Congress. The nation, however, controls and governs various areas which are now demanding statehood on principles of territorial equality. Alaska, with 30,000 or so people constituting the white population, is one of these aspirants for statehood. Her wish, if gratified, would bring into the Union another State like Nevada, which harks back for its political system to the rotten boroughs of old England. The Hawaiian Islands are less interested in statehood, because the active, controlling element, which is American, would be in the saddle under any conditions, and Hawaii as a State would encounter the most serious race difficulties.

A third aspirant for statehood is Porto Rico; this island having been almost a barbarous colony under Spain, from which it was rescued by annexation to the United States, and granted inclusion in the magic area of free markets, now insists that it must have the privilege of statehood so far denied to Alaska and Hawaii. The far away and inconsequential Virgin Islands and American Samoa certainly deserve no place among equal States.

The Philippine Islands have as large a population as the State of New York, and enjoy a representative Legislature, which in outward appearance resembles

that of some of the States. This broad tropical region came to the United States through the unpremeditated campaign of 1898, resulting in the retention of the islands as an undefined accessory territory. The admission of the Philippines as an equal State would raise very far-reaching questions, both economic and political. There seems not the slightest prospect that the present galaxy of States would add to itself that far-off island commonwealth.

Here the list of new equal States possible in the twentieth century ceases; but what is the legal and moral status of the governments of Panama and Nicaragua, which exist by the revocable consent of the United States? Most Americans believe that we can never let go of the direct water routes, both actual and possible, between the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. The only other Caribbean country which might possibly, in course of time, enlarge the flag beyond its present forty-eight stars, is Cuba; for the United States has a treaty right to interfere in Cuba in order to maintain republican government. Two other areas which at present seem far beyond any idea of statehood or even of incorporation into the Union as Federal dependencies are Haiti and Santo Domingo, which, if made States, would probably be governed no better than they have been by the fiat of the United States of America.

Some foreign and a few American critics see loss of motive power in this grouping of equal but not uniform States. The whole subject is summed up in the aphorism of the Revolutionary statesman: "A little colony has its all at stake as well as a big one."

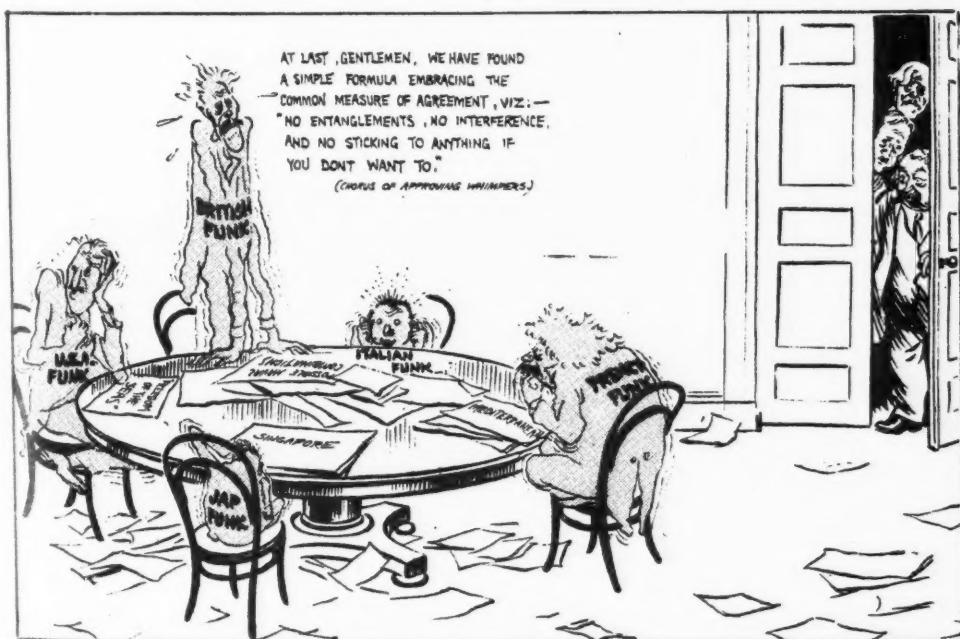


# CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS



## THE THREE MUSKET- EERS

Signers of the  
Three - Power  
Naval Limita-  
tion Treaty  
—The New  
York Times



THE PARODY CONFERENCE

—Glasgow Eve. Times



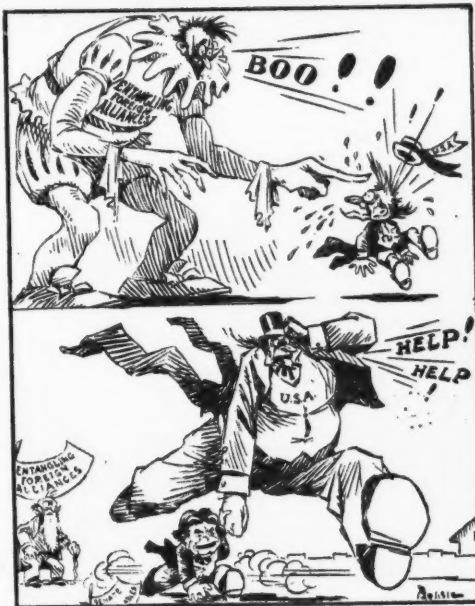
AT THE  
BAR OF  
THE  
FIVE  
NATIONS  
(Or, a *Con-*  
*summation*  
Devoutly to  
Be Wished)  
M. Briand:  
"I want some-  
thing sustain-  
ing. Can you  
give me a  
'Military  
Commit-  
ment'?" Mr.  
MacDonald:  
"Sorry we  
don't serve it.  
Against the  
rules of the  
house. But I  
can recom-  
mend our  
'No. 16 Old  
Geneva Clari-  
fied' "

—Punch,  
London

THEY  
DON'T  
SEEM  
TO GET  
THE  
IDEA

—Detroit News





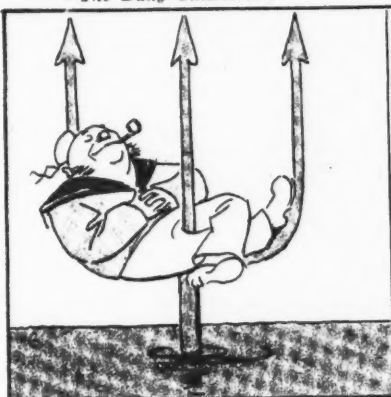
SAMMY MUST HAVE HAD A  
TERRIBLE FRIGHT WHEN  
HE WAS LITTLE

—The Daily Oklahoman

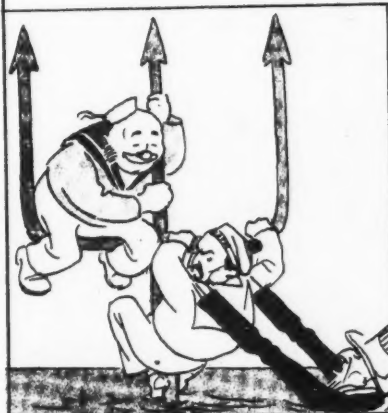


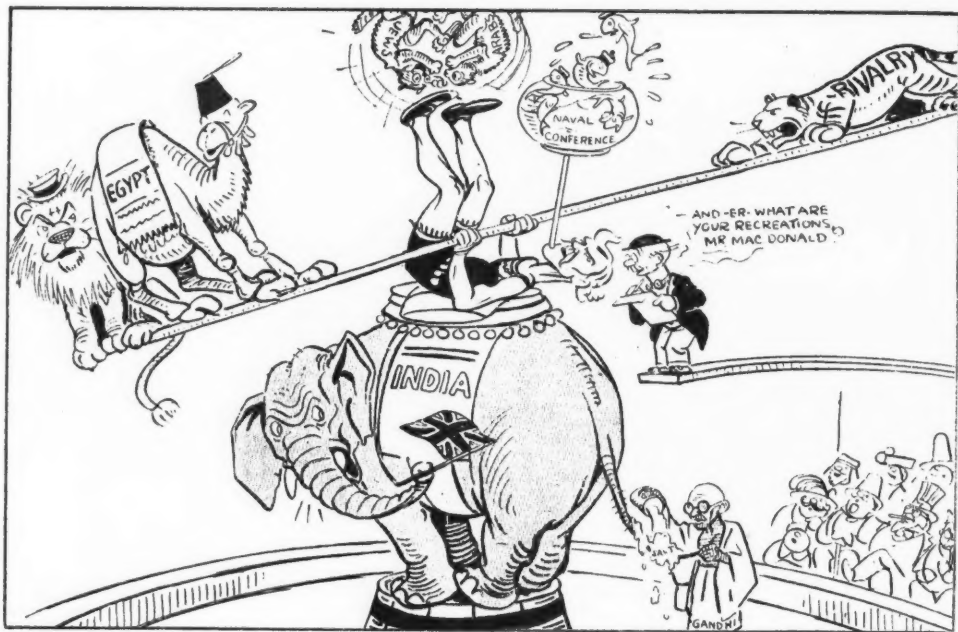
THE BOYS WILL NOW SHOW  
THEIR APPRECIATION

—Portland Press Herald



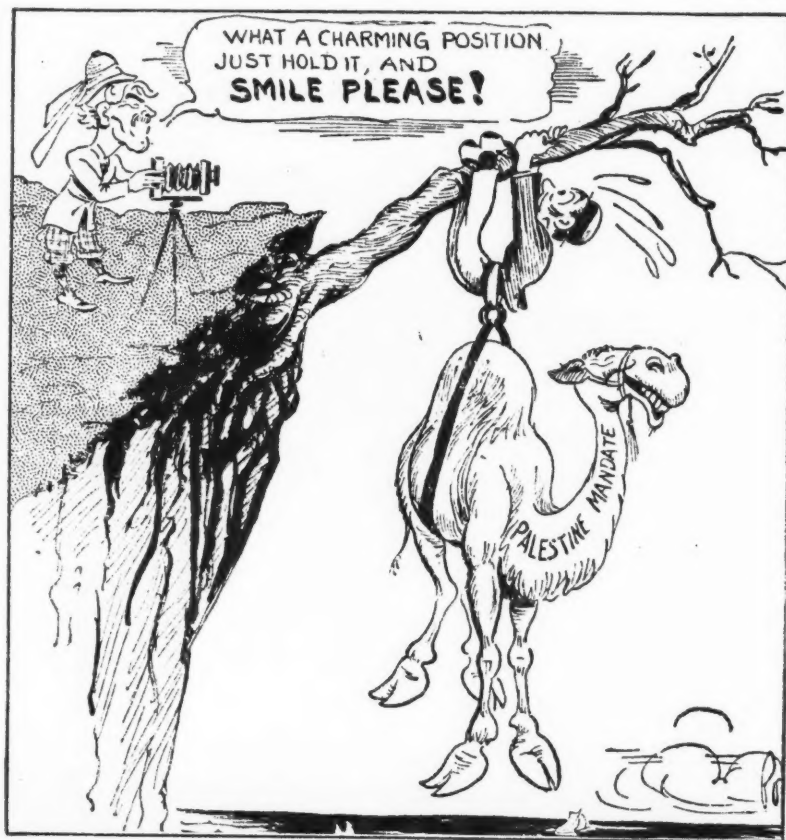
THE  
BATTLE  
FOR  
THE  
TRIDENT  
A German  
view of  
Franco-Brit-  
ish-U. S.  
rivalry  
—Kladder-  
datsch,  
Berlin





AN AVERAGE DAY IN THE LIFE OF PRIME MINISTER  
MACDONALD

—The Daily Express, London



# HOLD IT!

Ramsay enters for the  
"happy  
snaps"  
competition

—Sunday  
Dispatch,  
London





French idea of a suggested three-power pact among France, Germany and Poland: "But there's a figure lacking in the group!" "Not at all. You haven't counted the pedestal!"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

# THE

## RETREAT

Stalin has had to modify his program of collectivization of the farmers

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin



MARS' LONDON PUNCH-AND-JUDY SHOW

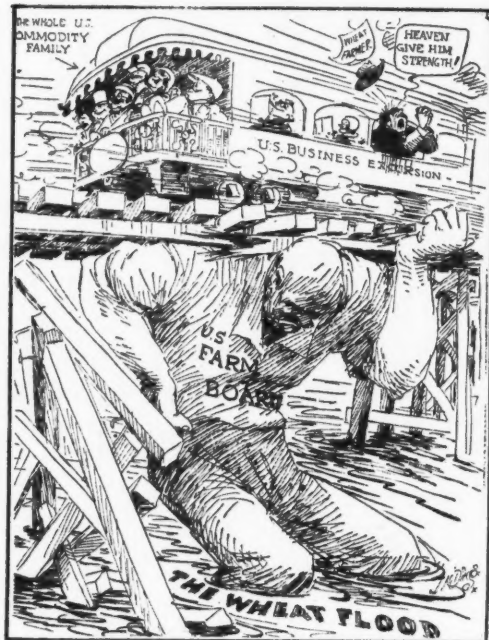
—Kladderadatsch, Berlin





**PERPETUAL MOTION  
AT LAST**

—The St. Paul Daily News



**SPRING FASHIONS FOR THE CANDIDATE**

—The New York Times

**THE  
WHEAT  
FARMER  
WAS  
NOT  
THE  
ONLY  
ONE  
WHO  
WAS  
SAVED**

—New  
York  
Herald  
Tribune



# Mahatma Gandhi: His Character and Career

By W. H. ROBERTS

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF REDLAND; STUDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

UNREST AND BLOODSHED in India have again brought Mahatma Gandhi out of retirement, have thrust him into the rôle of leader of his people, and have resulted in his arrest by the British Government. While Nationalist leaders have been clamoring for immediate independence, he has been sternly forbidding violence and advocating for his people, not immediate independence, but "a movement of self-purification" by non-violent disobedience. What manner of man, then, is this wizened little prophet who can so appeal to more than 300,000,000 people?

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar, capital of the native State of Kathiawar in Western India. His father served for many years as Prime Minister. Surrounded by the innumerable temptations of a petty Oriental court, he preserved an invincible integrity and conducted the affairs of his office in an exemplary fashion. He left little to his family in the shape of worldly goods; but from him young Mohandas caught that passion for truth and that hatred of all falsehood which he considers the dominant drive of his entire life. The boy's mother was a Hindu Monica. She is remembered chiefly for her extraordinary, inflexible piety.

Gandhi's boyhood and youth were morbid and unhappy. In his amazingly frank autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments With Truth* (Ahmedabad, 1929), psychoanalysts will find a treasure trove. The boy was tormented by physical frailty. To make himself strong, on the advice of a friend, he ate meat—which his religion, Vaishnavism, strictly forbade. One sin led to another. He was obliged to de-

ceive his parents. He suffered agonies until confession and forgiveness gave him again some measure of serenity. He was an uninterested and indifferent scholar. He was married at the age of thirteen to a girl still younger, and the new relationship increased his conflicts and perplexities.

At the age of nineteen he sailed for England to study law. The decision was reached only after prolonged and heated controversy both within the family and in the caste. Hindus are forbidden to cross the ocean; and England was regarded as a place of peculiarly insidious temptations. Before she would consent to the plan, his mother, acting on priestly advice, bound him by a solemn vow to abstain from meat, wine and sexual relations.

Shy, retiring, lonesome, awkward, uncouth in dress and speech, bewildered by strange manners, and nearly starving in a country where people took little pains to provide for vegetarians, he suffered pitifully. In time, however, he located a vegetarian restaurant; and with regular and ample meals his health improved. He found, too, a circle of friends. With their help he elaborated a philosophy of vegetarianism; and in their company he was gradually trained in English customs. But he was never really at ease in English society.

His education was certainly vague and sketchy. The principal requirement for admission to the bar seems to have been eating a number of dinners in the Inner Temple, one of the Inns of Court in London. This requirement was rather hard on vegetarians, but it proved possible to arrange a special table. Examinations, he says, were mere formalities, and no student ever failed. Gandhi attended the necessary

dinners, passed the perfunctory examinations, and was duly declared a barrister in June, 1891.

He returned at once to India and attempted to practice in the High Court in Bombay. He was a dismal failure, since he was quite unable to address a court. The case might be simple and clear, his own preparation might be perfect, but it was hopeless. He was too shy and timid to make even routine and formal pleas. It seemed as if his family's sacrifices and his own years of lonesomeness and misery in England were wasted. In despair he applied for a position as teacher of English in a local school at a salary of 75 rupees (\$25) a month. He was not accepted!

Though he could not speak, Gandhi could write. Applications, petitions and memorials that he composed were clear, forceful and reasonably successful. After six unhappy months in Bombay he moved to Rajkot, where his brother was able to give him work of the sort that he could do. "I got along moderately well," he says. "Drafting applications and memorials brought me in, on an average, 300 rupees (\$100) a month. For this work I had to thank influence rather than my own ability, for my brother's partner had a settled practice. All important applications and so forth which were, really or to his mind, of an important character, he sent to big barristers. To my lot fell the applications to be drafted on behalf of his poor clients."

In 1893 Gandhi was asked to undertake a case for some Indian traders in Natal, South Africa. The terms were attractive, and he accepted. If ever there was an instance in which a man found his life by losing it, Gandhi's life for the next twenty years is one. The case which brought him to South Africa was settled out of court and to the satisfaction of both parties. He found other business and before long had built up a lucrative practice. At its peak this has been estimated at \$25,000 to \$30,000 a year. But his personal and professional activities were secondary to his public services. Boer and Briton were alike determined to

keep South Africa a white man's country. Indian laborers and traders were subject to many oppressions and indignities. In championing their cause Gandhi found himself. The barrister who could not argue the simplest case grew into the Mahatma whose quiet words could thrill thousands and who could face the highest authorities without a tremor.

In the course of his twenty years' struggle in South Africa Gandhi, on three occasions, rendered distinguished service to the government. He raised and commanded a Red Cross unit during the Boer War; when the plague broke out in Johannesburg he organized a hospital and aided vigorously in sanitary measures; and in the Natal revolt of 1908 he led a stretcher-bearer party. He was repeatedly jailed, insulted, and even beaten. On one occasion he was barely saved from lynching at the hands of an angry mob by the courage and, apparently, the sheer physical prowess of an English woman. In 1908, after he had effected a compromise with General Smuts, he was beaten into insensibility by a Pathan who regarded the compromise as a betrayal of Indian interests. Through it all he was true to his principle of *ahimsa*—harmlessness. He refused to prosecute his assailants. He attributed their action to misunderstanding of the situation and of his own purposes. He captivated his jailors. While for himself he never made complaint, on behalf of his oppressed countrymen he was eloquent.

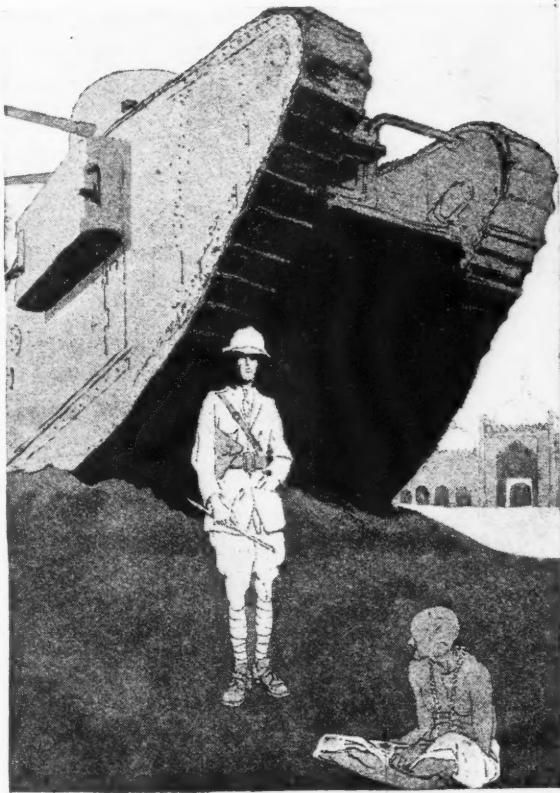
The struggle reached its climax in 1913 and 1914. Indignation in India attained formidable proportions. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, made himself immensely popular by vigorous representations to the government in London and by public utterances in the same tenor. In South Africa men and women sought arrest by hundreds and filled the jails. There were "monster demonstrations," and finally Gandhi led an "army" of some two thousand in an eight days' march across the Transvaal. Many were arrested; but the "army" could neither be turned aside



nor goaded into violence. These spectacular protests, the pressure from India and from Great Britain, all had their effect. The worst abuses were remedied. Gandhi returned to India to find himself a national hero.

In South Africa he had founded a curious colony on Tolstoyan lines; in fact he called it "Tolstoy Farm." It had been the real base of his efforts for the last ten years of his long struggle. He felt the need for a similar *ashram* in India. After some hesitation he selected Ahmedabad, some 300 miles north of Bombay, a large city with many cotton mills, owned and operated by Indian capitalists. From this centre his influence spread throughout India. A cry of distress came to him from Champaran, at the foot of the Himalayas. The peasants complained of oppression by the indigo planters. Gandhi visited the country, braved the wrath of the planters and arrest by the civil authorities and began a long inquiry and a program of education and relief. His representations led to the appointment of a commission of which he was made a member.

"I consented to serve on the committee," he writes, "on condition that I should be free to confer with my co-workers during the progress of the inquiry, that the government should recognize that by being a member of the committee I did not cease to be the *ryots'* (peasants') advocate, and that in case the result of the inquiry failed to give me satisfaction, I should be free to guide and advise the *ryots* as to what line of action they should take." It is not often that a private citizen can dictate such terms to an almost all-powerful government. The entire episode is highly significant both for the understanding of Gandhi's personality



*Simplicissimus, Munich*

#### INDIA

The British: "Our weapons are different, Mr. Gandhi, but one of us must conquer in the end"

and for a correct appreciation of the government's attitude toward him. The committee unanimously found in favor of the *ryots*. In spite of bitter and powerful opposition an agrarian bill was passed which remedied the worst abuses.

A little later he explained to the mill workers of Ahmedabad the "conditions of a successful strike." They were: (1) Never to resort to violence; (2) never to molest blacklegs; (3) never to depend upon alms, and (4) to remain firm, no matter how long the strike continued, and to earn bread, during the strike, by any other honest labor. After about two weeks the high resolves of the strikers began to weaken. Gandhi was suddenly inspired. He declared his resolve to fast until the strike was

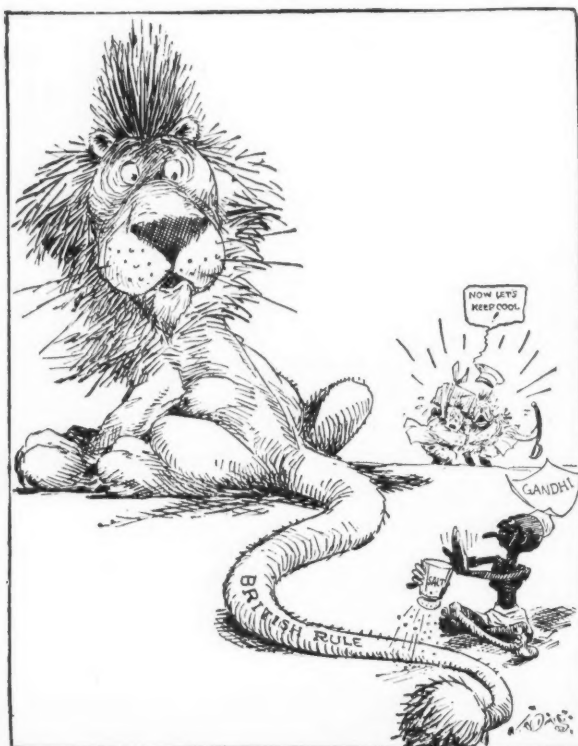
settled! This novel method of discipline which filled the strikers with enthusiasm was resented by mill owners as unfair pressure upon themselves! That pressure, indeed, proved irresistible. His fast lasted only three days. The strike was adjusted by arbitration and the mill owners to commemorate the event distributed candy among the laborers! This unique form of moral suasion appears repeatedly in Gandhi's later story.

When the severe and bitterly resented Rowlatt bill became law in 1919, he ordered a *hartal* (day of mourning and protest) throughout India. An attempt to lead such a movement as had been successful in South Africa, with the indigo growers led to mob violence of alarming proportions. The issue was admirably stated to Gandhi himself by Mr. Griffith, a police officer: "I tell you that the people are sure to go out of your control. Disobedience of law

will quickly appeal to them; it is beyond them to understand the duty of keeping peaceful." After a prolonged argument with Gandhi, Mr. Griffith said: "Suppose you were convinced that your teaching had been lost on the people, what would you do?" Gandhi replied: "I should suspend civil disobedience."

The proof was easy. Gandhi hurried to Ahmedabad. He found his worst misgivings more than confirmed, and exerted himself vigorously to restore order. At a public meeting he declared a penitential fast of three days for himself, and appealed to the people to undertake a similar fast for one day. Later, he made his famous confession that he had committed a "Himalayan blunder" in thinking his people capable of non-violent civil disobedience at that time.

Ahmedabad was quieted; but disorders in the Punjab increased. An outbreak occurred in Amritsar, in which a number of Englishmen were killed and one English woman was beaten and left for dead. It seemed to the officers on the spot that India was on the verge of another mutiny; and measures of extraordinary severity were taken. At Amritsar General Dyer learned of a meeting of protest in session in a public square, closed in on three sides, known as the Jallianwalla Bagh. He marched a small detachment of Gurka soldiers to the scene, lined them up across the fourth side of the square and opened fire. He continued to fire for ten minutes, until the ammunition was exhausted, all the time carefully directing the aim to where the crowd was thickest. He then marched away. The next morning nearly 400 dead were counted. Before the Hunter committee some months later General Dyer stated that he could have



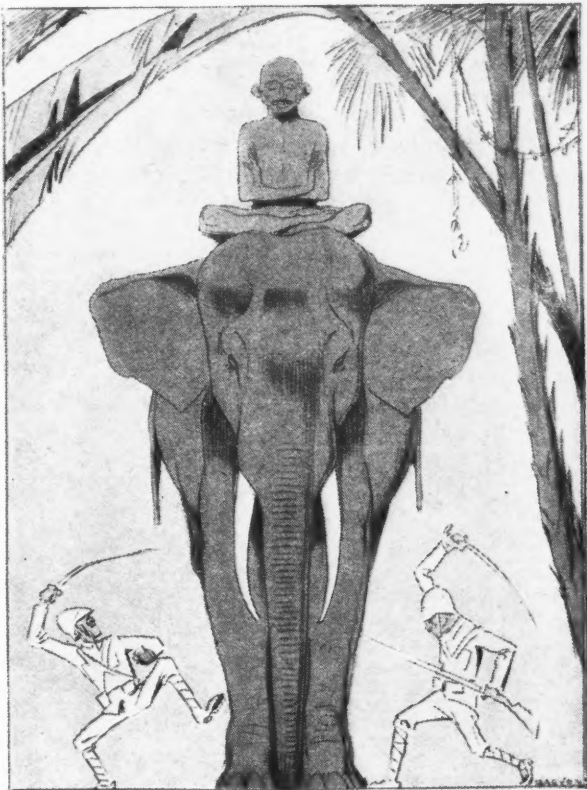
New York Herald Tribune  
THE INSULT COURTEOUS

broken up the meeting without firing a shot, but that he had determined to teach the country a lesson! Until the Punjab atrocities Gandhi had been steadily loyal to British rule. Powerfully as he had opposed it in certain particulars, he had believed that on the whole, it was best for India. From now on he was its uncompromising foe, denouncing it as "Satanic."

In the early months of 1920 India was in a state of the highest tension. It was not certain what the European powers would do with Turkey. Indian Moslems were ready to demand the restoration of the Sultan, Khalif of all Islam, to the position he had enjoyed before the war and the return of all the sacred cities to Turkish control. The Hindus were concerned with matters nearer home and were anxiously waiting to learn what decision the government would reach with reference to the atrocities. The government was, with all its energies, advertising the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

In March it became evident that Mohammedan hopes would be disappointed. A little later came the report of the Hunter committee. Acting upon it, Parliament removed General Dyer permanently from command. Some other officials were either dismissed or allowed to resign. All this was only exasperating to every one. Indians felt that the punishment of the guilty officers was utterly inadequate, indeed only a pretense. Europeans declared that these officers had saved India from the horrors of another mutiny. British residents in India presented General Dyer with a magnificent sword and £10,000 in cash as a token of their esteem and approval. The controversy was prolonged in most bitter fashion in both the British and the native press.

The outstanding Hindu leader at this



*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

#### GANDHI

A German view of the Indian situation

time was Lokamanya B. G. Tilak. When he died, there was no one to contest Gandhi's leadership. Gandhi promptly announced his whole-hearted support of the Mohammedan aims. The government found itself facing a new, portentous force—Hindu-Moslem unity.

Then as now, Gandhi's position was extremely precarious. The Mohammedan leaders favored open rebellion and war. Gandhi could win from them only a reluctant and temporary adherence to his program. If "non-cooperation" failed, they frankly proposed to call for war. On the surface, at least, the "non-cooperation" movement was a succession of dismal failures. Gandhi appealed first to the officeholders and his rich and powerful countrymen. He met with no response. They were realists. Next he appealed to the students. The

schools and colleges, whether government or missionary, he declared, were inculcating a "slave mentality." The students must abandon them. New "national" schools would train them to robust manhood and the service of "The Mother." The response was glorious—and pathetic. India's youths were idealists, while their elders held back. The boys, with glowing zeal and high courage, pressed on to the great adventure. But schools and colleges could not be built in a day. The sad fact soon became apparent that India's "leaders" had neither resources nor an inspiring educational program. The "national" schools proved to be ill-equipped, precariously financed institutions teaching the same old subjects in plainly less efficient fashion.

As I pointed out in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, 1923, the non-cooperation movement originated in a very superficial and immature estimate of the situation; it owed its progress to unscrupulous promises by the leaders and the credulity and emotionalism of the student class; and it was wrecked by incompetence to grapple with its practical problems. In every one of these aspects it was typical of the larger movement of which it formed a part.

The second year of the struggle, 1921, was marked by an increased emphasis upon boycotting foreign cloth, the raising of 10,000,000 rupees to finance the movement, and an ominous growth of lawlessness. Legends of the Mahatma's miraculous powers, prophecies of a glorious day soon to dawn, were spreading through the vast rural population of India. An immense and highly efficient organization was developed. Often the police and petty officials were brushed aside and found themselves mere spectators of a government carried on without their advice or guidance. As the movement grew, "volunteers" in uniform drilled openly in the streets and squares of the large cities or paraded with banners, shouting praises of Mahatma Gandhi.

The consequences which every one

but Gandhi saw were inevitable duly appeared. Disorders in outlying districts became increasingly alarming. Finally, in Southwest India, the Moplahs, a sturdy, stupid, fanatical Mohammedan people, broke into open rebellion. Alas for glowing eloquence upon the new Hindu-Moslem unity! The Moplahs proved true to the traditions of militant Mohammedanism in India. Forced conversions, murder, torture and mutilation marked the progress of the rebellion, and it was many months before quiet was restored.

There was savage and bloody rioting in a section of Bombay when the Prince of Wales landed. A little later twenty Indian policemen were driven into their station house at Chauri Chaura. With a couple of guns they kept a crowd of several thousand at bay until their ammunition was exhausted. The crowd set fire to the station house. As the unhappy men rushed from the burning structure, they were beaten to death with clubs or thrust back into the flames. Gandhi was horrified. He declared that it was the third warning from God that his people were not yet ready for liberty. His obedience to the warning, however, was strange, to say the least. He declared a five days' fast. Then with a curious resilience he came back more determined than ever.

He was about to take the final step, to call for "civil disobedience," the refusal to pay taxes, obey laws, or perform any of the duties of citizens, when the government ordered his arrest. For two years the government had watched the growth of a movement openly professing to be aimed at its destruction. It had seen its authority weakening, its officers held up to ignominy. It had hoped to meet propaganda with argument, but there was something ponderous, elephantine, in its procedure. Gandhi was a far more skilled manipulator of public opinion. The arrest was managed with extraordinary consideration. He was notified some hours before it was to take place. He met the police with simple, quiet dignity. There was a brief prayer with a few of his



closest friends, a reading from the *Bhagavad Gita*. He collected a few personal effects and went quietly to jail.

The trial of Gandhi has been described by Romain Rolland as a contest in magnanimity between representatives of India and British Imperialism. The late W. W. Pearson wrote: "The story of the trial of Gandhi and his speech is to me a classic equal to a passage from the Gospels or from the Trial and Death of Socrates." It was a clash between two incompatible ideals, each of which was represented by high-minded, fully self-conscious personalities. In each was concentrated all the strength of conflicting cultures. No facts were in dispute. Gandhi acknowledged all that was charged against him. He asked no mercy and expressed no regret. The judge, for his part, consulted with his prisoner as to his sentence! He reminded him that, a number of years before, the Hindu leader Tilak had been condemned to six years of imprisonment. Gandhi expressed his gratification at being classed with such a patriot and approved the sentence. The judge finally added that if the government at some future time saw fit to remit any portion of the penalty, no one would be better pleased than he. These words were, as they were doubtless understood to be, prophetic. Gandhi was arrested in March, 1922. He was released in January, 1924. The remainder of his sentence was remitted.

Gandhi had seemingly vanished from Indian politics. But in 1929 India was again distracted. The reforms had been in operation for ten years, and the government was considering the next step in the gradual advance toward Dominion status. But Indian leaders were not content to wait. They demanded immediate Dominion status, even complete independence. The signs were ominous in the extreme.

Gandhi once more came before his people, advocating his scheme of non-violent revolution, and once more he became his people's guide. And, ironically as it may seem, the government extended him thanks for turning the agi-

tation from violent to peaceful aims!

Despite its splendid vision and magnificent possibilities, Gandhi's movement must fail. No great mass of human beings is capable of such exaltation and sacrifice as would be demanded by his program of non-violent disobedience. Hindus and Mohammedans have hundreds of years full of good reason to fear each other. The jealousies and fears of powerful native princes must be reckoned with. Sixty millions of outcasts, the "Untouchables," have declared that no oppression India ever suffered from Britons can be compared to theirs under the caste system of Hinduism.

To one who attempts to view India's most pressing problems realistically rather than romantically, it seems clear that they are not political at all. Indians can best prove their rights to freedom not by orations in a National Congress in the style of Patrick Henry, but by grappling effectively with economic and social problems: poverty, famine, disease, sanitation, the improvement of agriculture, the guidance of the industrial revolution now taking shape in India, the caste system, early marriage, illiteracy, ignorance, superstition.

For such leadership as India so desperately needs, Gandhi is tragically unfitted. It is tragic, because he is so nearly his people's savior; but he is unable to take a realistic view of the situation. He is in revolt against the great impersonal economic and industrial tides that are slowly but irresistibly flooding India and transforming it. If Gandhi could understand the importance of the economic and industrial development of his people; if he could realize that only as they become economically stable and sound, intellectually emancipated and united through long cooperation in common practical tasks, can they deserve freedom or use it rightly; if, in short, he were content to build for the ages, he would be even greater than he is. [For further developments in India, see Professor Hayden's article elsewhere in this magazine.]

# *Woodrow Wilson's Methods in the Classroom*

By O. W. MOSHER Jr.

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WOODROW WILSON was in his teaching days a lecturer on jurisprudence and politics. To most teachers lectures are the least important side of teaching, but this was not so in his case. During the twelve years in which he taught at Princeton before he became president of the university his tendency was away from small and intimate groups and continually toward the handling of larger and larger numbers before whom he could test his ideas in lecture form and thus perfect his command of the English language.

On rare occasions he met small groups and in 1900 took a special interest in coaching a small number of students for the debating teams. One of these debaters, now a college president, in speaking of his method of training, says: "Wilson undoubtedly believed theoretically in allowing the pupils freedom of thought, but he was constitutionally incapable of handling matters that way himself. He was so conscious that his own way was the best way that he outlined to us how the debate should be organized and insisted that we give it in his way." That his mind was of this imperious kind, even in his teaching, has been repeated again and again in the opinions that the present writer has collected. There was scarcely an interview or letter that did not contain such expressions as Wilson had a "hard and fast attitude of mind," "he was so sure of his own position that any disagreement would have been rather unwelcome," "he was clear and dogmatic."

It was not that he discouraged students from thinking; the reverse was true. He made us think and think for ourselves. "Never shall I forget," narrates one of his former pupils, "the

occasion when one of the class began his answer by 'I think,' and Wilson ejaculated 'Thank God!'" But as one of his students said, "in spite of this encouragement to freedom of thought, Woodrow Wilson always felt his ideas were the correct ones, and I must admit that his arguments were always cogent. I was talking to an '08 man down at the club a day or so before the president was to give a talk on the quadrangle system. I asked him if he was going to his talk and he said, 'No, I am not going to that talk because I am against the quadrangle system and if I go he will make me for it.'"

In spite of being a lecturer, he appreciated the value of small discussion groups. After he became president of the university he abolished a number of elective courses and consolidated the students' programs, not allowing them to ramble at will in the byways of disconnected subjects. He went further; he was not satisfied with the results obtained by the lecture system; he wanted something more intellectually stimulating. Having in mind the old saying that if you had Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other you had a college, he studied the situation at Princeton. Obviously the virtue of the old "Log College" was its direct contact between the taught and the teacher. With Princeton's large enrolment it was necessary to find something to meet this need. From this evolved the preceptorial system based upon the English tutorial method.

The secretary of Princeton University has stated Wilson's relations to the preceptorial system after he founded it as follows: "Although the preceptorial method was installed here under his presidency, it is an interesting fact that

his relation to it was entirely theoretical. He never held any preceptorial conferences and knew nothing by experience as to the practical working of the method. It would have helped us preceptors a great deal if Mr. Wilson had done preceptorial work himself. He intended to have regular meetings with the preceptors to discuss methods, but he found this impossible and we worked out the system ourselves."

In so far as students were concerned the preceptor met them in small groups of four or five, coming together frequently in the informal atmosphere of his private room and there talking over certain assigned readings. The period was not one for review but for widening the knowledge of the field and for inspiring interest in it. The inspirational method was used to some extent, but many of the preceptors made the hour a veritable class, and since the number was very small squeezed a lot of work out of the individual.

Some of Wilson's plans for his university are only now being realized. Not only in his inaugural address in 1902 but in his classes he stressed the idea of "Princeton in the nation's service," of its duty to continue in intellectual leadership, and to fit young men for high positions in the country's service. The School of Public and International Affairs recently established at Princeton is in line with the traditions of public service he wished to continue.

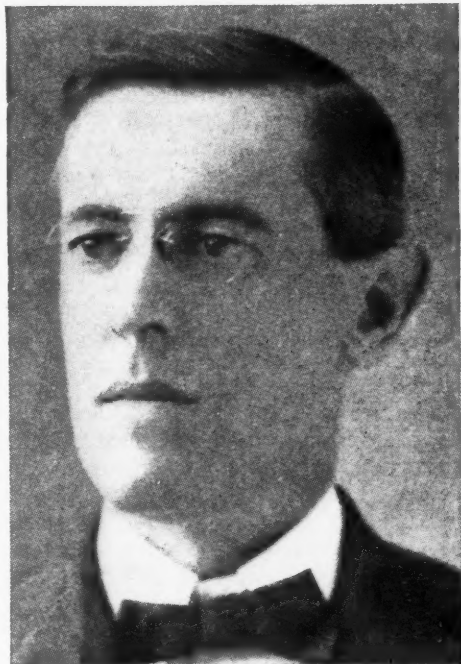
Wilson's own teaching was confined to the departments of history, politics and economics. In the first term he gave elements of jurisprudence in the form of lectures. The collateral reading required in the course included such sterling authorities as Maine's *Ancient Law*, Holland's *Elements of Jurisprudence*, Jenks's *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* and Sir W. Markby's *Elements of Law*. He assigned very little reading in addition to these works, expecting the students to browse further afield on his own initiative.

The general testimony seems to be that it was not very difficult to pass the examinations and that there was little fear of "flunking" his courses out-

right. His assistants always corrected the examinations.

In 1909 an assistant apparently added to the examination prepared by Wilson questions which made the passing of the examinations difficult for a student who had not hewed closely to the text. Some of us were most painfully distressed; we had worked hard for him and here was an examination that caught us unaware on unheard of minutiae. A number of us determined to question Wilson about that paper at the first opportunity.

Wilson used to walk around the Quadrangle, and we frequently met him on his afternoon strolls, dressed in brown and wearing a brown derby. As he passed us he would raise his cane slightly and say, "Good evening, gentlemen," as from one statesman to a group of Ambassadors. On this occasion one of our group stopped President Wilson, drew out the offending paper, and said: "President Wilson, look at



Woodrow Wilson: *Life and Letters*, Baker; Doubleday, Page & Co.

WOODROW WILSON IN 1902  
The year he was elected president of Princeton

this paper; we prepared for our examination on material you suggested in your lectures, and now look at this—a whole lot of insignificant non-essential detailed questions." Wilson took the paper and after examining it with a somewhat sheepish grin remarked, "It does seem to be the limit. I haven't seen this examination before until now. I'll see that it won't harm you."

The lectures, however, were Wilson's chief consideration. He held his class at 9 in the morning in No. 10 McCosh Hall. No one took attendance, but the room was almost invariably crowded, a large part of the audience being made up of people who were not taking the course. He did not orally quiz his classes but lectured the entire time, standing during the lecture and delivering his ideas in polished English.

His portrait is well known, but certain impressions stand out particularly: his high intellectual forehead, his long, statesmanlike jaw, and his incisive form of attack gave him an appearance of stature and dignity. He appeared each time to have a message to bring, and this animated his oratory. His regular use of pince-nez added to his dignity in spite of the mobile end of his nose that vibrated in sympathy with his utterances. Once he humorously remarked that he intended to wear his glasses on the end of his nose so that he could see his words before they came out. On another occasion, much to the general amusement, he adjusted a monocle to his eye—the effect being to make him appear much like a British statesman.

If he desired to emphasize a point, he did it with his long index finger; other than that he believed gesture unnecessary and weakened the effect. His idea was to stand on his hind feet and with mighty few gestures to say exactly what he had come to say. Later in life, touring the country in his political capacity, he discovered that the crowds did not like that "school-teachery" way of emphasizing his points with his index finger, and broke himself of the habit.

Wilson was rather fond in his lec-

tures of expressions taken from anatomy, expressions which compared the difficulties of the body politic with disease of the liver and the lights. He frequently spoke of "turning the cold, yet beneficent blast of publicity" into the microbe-infested corners of our political life. Later, his campaign speeches abounded in that sort of thing. There were other pet phrases in both his speeches and documents, which gave his utterances a somewhat doctrinaire sound. Such phrases as "The thinking men of the nation," "May I not," "Singular felicity of expression," appeared with frequency.

One phrase, "Beware that the side-show does not become more important than the main tent," he used with effect on the morning of the Yale-Princeton football game when the students failed to give the passionate attention to the benefits of jurisprudence that Wilson desired. He was very sensitive to any restlessness in his classes; feeling his own importance as one of the élite "thinking men of the nation" he intended that his every word should be listened to with profound respect. A Yale game, however, invariably upsets the attention of Princeton boys. For Wilson, that was no excuse; he interrupted his lecture to give the class an old-fashioned "call-down," in which he spoke with contempt of young men of mature years who so far forget themselves over a mere game as to be oblivious to the vast problems that confronted mankind.

On one or two occasions, with a feeling for drama, Wilson asked that the doors of the lecture room be closed and that no one be admitted. He would then ask if there were any reporters in the room, and requested that neither the reporters nor the students quote to others what he was about to say. Then, stepping aside from the subject of jurisprudence, he would delight the class by discussing certain individuals and the policies of those who stood high in the realm of politics or education in our nation. He never handled these statesmen with gloves but straight from the shoulder, speaking with an



absolute conviction that he was right in his judgment of these men and their policies. For the president of a university very much in the public eye, to give these talks to his students was most indiscreet, but, so far as is known, none of the boys ever carried what he said out of the classroom.

Of his other digressions from the subject of jurisprudence, some were engaging and full of homely wisdom. He humorously admitted a policy of "trying it out on the dog," of trying out on the students ideas he was later to use in his public addresses. "The only way on earth by which you can learn to speak—is to speak frequently," said Woodrow one morning; "I hunt every chance to speak that I can, and you should do the same; make chances—go visit country schools, if necessary, and the teacher will be sure to ask you to say something to the children; that would give fine practice. Do you know I have spoken to every sort of organization from a mother's club to a philosophical society and the training has been of inestimable value to me."

His lectures were remarkably clear, given in a statesmanlike and judicial manner, but it was easy to see the almost moral enthusiasm pointing to where his convictions lay. How many of us can still recall his voice as he began his lecture with "Gentlemen, law is an organic body rising from the connection of men; it rests upon legal consciousness, which is the moral basis of the whole structure \* \* \*" His flood of clear limpid English was pure delight.

An able summary of Wilson's attitude as an educator embodying what he wished for his university is given by one of his students, now a learned judge: "Permeating all his efforts to train and develop the minds of young men was his genuine and sincere belief in democracy and equality of opportunity. It was this thing that I am very sure animated him in his battle to eliminate from Princeton what he considered the undemocratic influence of the upper class clubs, and to bring the stu-

dents, irrespective of family, wealth or creed on to something of a level by the substitution for the club system of the quadrangle system copied from Oxford, England. I have always felt that Mr. Wilson realized that the caste system of upper class clubs at Princeton was wholly and entirely artificial and did not at all resemble any actual conditions which the youthful alumnus would encounter on emerging from the cloisters of the university into the practical life of the world."

Wilson was opposed to any caste system, club or fraternity; he was a man of ready sympathy for the poor student who found himself an outcast from the life of the clubs. One student said of Whig Hall, "This is the only place in this university where I can meet the students on the basis of social equality." It is said that Wilson's face "went white as a sheet" as he listened, and he determined to do away with the club system and substitute for it the only aristocracy he would recognize—that of the intellect. He believed this would thrive best under the English quadrangle system. Such was the force of his personality that the student body of 1909 was ready enough to sacrifice its clubs. I can see the students now standing on chairs and tables after the banquet given in his honor and cheering him. The failure of the scheme was not due to the student body; the whole question became involved in that of the graduate college and forces outside student opinion came into play that were the undoing of Wilson's projects.

His desire to know the students more intimately, resulted in his inviting us to his home on several occasions. Seated in his library, Wilson presided and talked informally with us, and we became better acquainted with the dignity and aloofness of a man whose mind seemed busy with great concepts. Although many of us later were disappointed in his interpretation of his ideals, he still remains in our minds as one who spoke and acted with a clear, high purpose that righteous men might follow.

# *Social Welfare Progress in the United States*

By JOHN A. LAPP

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ON MARCH 31 the New York State Assembly at Albany passed by unanimous vote an old age pension bill which represents one of the most progressive measures ever taken to provide for the security of the aged against want. This bill, signed by Governor Roosevelt, makes provision for State aid to indigent people who have reached their seventieth year. The expense, estimated at about \$12,500,000 yearly, will be borne jointly by the State and the counties. A bureau to carry out the law is to be created in the State Social Welfare Department.

The passing of this measure is an evidence of the sincerity of public sympathy for those in the community who have grown old and infirm, and who are helpless to provide for themselves in their declining days. It is a convincing proof that the many spectacular appeals for charitable funds made by "community chest" organizations and other social agencies have tended to obscure the vitally important part which the public takes in social work. The fact is that the public treasury provides the larger portion of the funds for the relief of distressed people. Each government, local, State and national, does something in this cause. Townships relieve the poor, counties maintain hospitals and poorhouses as well as provide outdoor relief. Cities maintain public hospitals, dispensaries and sanatoria, and sometimes give relief. States take care of the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, delinquents and felons. The Federal Government provides for the soldiers of its wars and for sick and disabled seamen. Each of the governments does something for the promotion of public health and the prevention of disease.

The larger units, the city, the county, the State and the nation, provide various forms of pensions for their employes. The States provide by law for workmen's compensation systems to take care of workmen injured in industry, and mothers' pensions for deserted or widowed mothers with dependent children. The Federal Government provides for compensation to its own disabled and superannuated employes. It has enacted a workmen's compensation law for civilian employes in the District of Columbia and is empowered to do likewise for interstate railway employes. Altogether the public spend on activities classifiable as social work a sum exceeding \$2,500,000,000. This is probably five times that expended for the same purposes by privately managed charitable agencies and institutions. As a rule the more expensive forms of material care and relief are assumed by the public treasury, while the private agencies confine themselves to those works in which service constitutes the larger element.

This bare outline of the part which the public plays in social amelioration and relief will give to many readers a new conception of the vastness of the field of social work. The expenditure of more than \$3,000,000,000 a year by all the existing agencies, both public and private, makes us realize the appalling weakness in human institutions and in human character that creates so great a need. We think of our expenditures for public education as being large. They are in fact not so great as the expenditures for social work. The total expenditure, public and private, for all phases of education would not equal the total expenditure for social work.

In fact it would fall short of it by many millions of dollars.

The programs which social work seeks to carry out may be divided into three parts: First, the prevention of the causes of individual incapacity; second, rehabilitation of the faculties which individuals in distress may still possess, and third, the care of individuals, temporarily or permanently, who are unable to provide for themselves.

What exactly do we mean when we talk of the prevention of poverty? Naturally, we mean to prevent the causes of poverty—sickness, accident, unemployment, mental deficiencies, inadequate wages, war, and so forth. If we could eliminate these causes or care for their consequences, we would thereby deprive present day social work of most of its major problems. Toward this aim all agencies, public and private, should concentrate, while not overlooking the need for care of those who are in distress. Public and private agencies are necessary in the present state of affairs, but the major work must be performed by the public for at least two very good reasons. First, the program requires the aid of public authority, and second, it requires adequate means which can be secured only by the power of public taxation. Legislation and taxation are the two mighty arms in all three phases—prevention, rehabilitation and care.

Let us consider accidents as a cause of poverty. Accidents fall by chance upon individual workers, and when serious they cause a major calamity in a family when it is the breadwinner who is incapacitated. Wages stop, doctors' bills increase, surgical expenses become a heavy burden, meager resources are soon used up and appeals to charitable agencies are not far distant. The two remedies are the prevention of accidents and the distribution of the burden through liability or insurance laws. In both these respects the power of public authority is essential. Much can be done and much has been done by employers and private organizations in the prevention of accidents. The Na-

tional Safety Council has for years been doing valiant service in arousing workers and employers everywhere to the need of accident prevention. Much can be done and has been done by employers and mutual benefit societies in distributing the economic cost of accidents but the compulsion of law is usually essential. Some employers will provide safety protections voluntarily, but many will not. Some will put the requirements of law into effect vigorously; others must be compelled by factory inspectors to do so. The "safety first" movement would not get very far if it did not have behind it the development of elaborate safety codes and legal regulations for the promotion of safety. Likewise in distributing the burden of accidents through insurance, it required the compulsion of law to enforce liability on employers and later to establish workmen's compensation for injured employees.

Only a small fraction of the workers were protected against economic disaster through accidents before the passage of the workmen's compensation laws, one of the first of which went into effect in New Jersey in 1911 bearing the signature of Woodrow Wilson, Governor of the State. What a change has been effected in these brief nineteen years! Forty-four States have enacted similar laws. Many of these have gone far toward recognizing that the losses of the individual worker should be provided for, whether temporary or permanent. The restoration of as much of the physical and vocational power destroyed as possible is the goal. After such efforts have been exhausted the measurement of the permanent losses takes place, and men are, or should be, paid for a goodly portion of the loss suffered. In the meantime, payments of from one-half to two-thirds of the wages, with a maximum limit—as yet altogether too low in most of the States—keep or should keep the worker from applying to charitable agencies for relief. An adequate workmen's compensation law should render it unnecessary for any worker within

its jurisdiction to be driven to charitable agencies in case of an accident occurring in industry.

We do not know exactly the total amount distributed under compensation laws throughout the nation in the course of a year. Some indications may be obtained from the figures in certain States. Pennsylvania required the payment of \$121,655,450 over a period of eleven years; New York in 1926 awarded claims of \$28,995,476; Minnesota in a two-year period awarded a total of \$5,261,677 for cash payments and \$1,958,319 in medical costs. In all probability the total amount runs in excess of \$200,000,000 annually paid to injured workers for losses suffered, or to the survivors of workers killed, in the course of employment. The direct result of placing this burden upon employers to be carried through insurance is the recognition that it is better to prevent accidents than to pay for them. State funds, insurance companies and employers, responding to the humanitarian appeal as well as to the economic prospect, are carrying on effective campaigns for the prevention of accidents.

Another form of public care of distress illustrates the same principles, namely, mothers' pension laws, designed to keep families together when a mother is left with dependent children by the desertion or death of the husband. In the olden days of twenty-five years ago, families were broken up, children were sent to institutions or cared for by relatives or friends, mothers were compelled to go out to work and, even if the mother tried to keep the family together, it was a heartrending struggle with much of social failure attached. The mothers' pension laws recognized a definite contingency, namely, dependent children under 14 years of age. Mothers' pension laws annually keep more than 50,000 families together, a large part of which, without this form of public relief, would have been broken up and destroyed. In one large city 150 families were on the point of dissolution when the mothers' pension law

went into effect and provided the means to keep them together. Fully 150,000 children are cared for annually by mothers' pensions. Thousands of others might be thus cared for if pension systems were adequate in all the States.

The third activity, illustrating the same principle, is the care of the aged through pensions. The public has led the way in providing for superannuated employes. Cities, counties, States and the nation all give us examples of excellent systems of pensioning public employes after long and faithful service. A few States have begun the experiment of paying old age pensions to worthy aged people over 70 years of age who have not the means of adequate support. The example of New York, referred to at the beginning of this article, is a notable recent case. Other States which have adopted a similar plan of old age pensions and put the same into effect are California, Nevada, Montana and Wisconsin. While merely in its beginning there can be no doubt that this system will be extended. The conditions of modern living demand it. Our highly mechanized industries do not find older employes acceptable. In some employments it is hard to get work after forty-five and difficult to retain it after fifty-five. More workers must, therefore, be left dependent upon casual and precarious employment for support in old age. Another change—the result of social progress—renders this situation more acute. Improved health conditions give us more old people. There are a million more old folks past sixty-five in the United States today than there were in 1910. Actually and relatively the number of aged is increasing. Due to improved health there are today 600,000 more people over 65 than there would have been without the improvements of the years since 1910.

There are many other phases of public measures for social welfare which cannot be detailed here. There is, for instance the problem of sickness, which means the prevention of disease as far as possible and the distribution of the



economic burden of sickness by means of insurance. The achievement of this would mean the wiping out of at least 50 per cent of poverty. Remarkable progress in saving lives has been accomplished in the last three or four decades, as shown by the change in the death rate, which is now twice more favorable than in 1880. This means the saving of hundreds of thousands of lives that would have been cut short under the conditions that prevailed before 1900. In fact, 60,000 people did not die in 1929 who would have died if the conditions of 1900 still prevailed. This remarkable change is due to the combined attack of both public and private medical and social agencies, but mainly to the beneficent activity of the public authorities in establishing health departments, dispensaries and various forms of State medical service. The care of cases of mental incapacity or deficiency may be considered under this head. There are about 350,000 people confined in institutions for such mental troubles. The total cost to the Federal Government and the cities, States and counties represents the largest single item of the public's burden.

Inadequate wages and unemployment represent another problem. The first may be disregarded here, for the reason that inadequate wages cannot be dealt with directly by public action, inasmuch as the Supreme Court has held that minimum wage laws would infringe the right of free contract.

As to unemployment, this is another example of the helplessness both of the individual and of private agencies. Only the State has the resources and power to cope with this ever present problem. Slight beginnings have been made toward the prevention of unemployment by the setting up of employment bureaus and by better distribution of work throughout the year, but a really effective remedy can come only through community action on a large scale, involving long-range plan-

ning of public works and a nation-wide chain of employment bureaus to distribute labor where needed. Unemployment still existing could then be met by unemployment insurance, cooperatively developed with public support, as in several European countries. The recent action of President Hoover in setting up a fact finding commission to investigate the whole problem of unemployment is a most encouraging sign.

What of poverty caused by war? At the present time the Veterans' Bureau is expending about \$600,000,000 annually in paying claims of soldiers disabled in the World War and for the care of those permanently incapacitated. The Federal Government also expends about a quarter of a billion dollars in pensions for veterans of earlier wars, besides maintaining special institutions for old soldiers and sailors.

Governmental agencies have also provided for most of the work that has been done in vocational rehabilitation. In fact, very little of this type of work has been undertaken by private groups. Beginning with the vocational rehabilitation of soldiers—which through political and sentimental causes was largely a failure—the Federal Government has undertaken in cooperation with the States to carry on a nation-wide program for the training of crippled men. The States set up their program for training of the disabled, and if these plans meet the specifications of the Federal law, a portion of the expense is paid from the Federal treasury. This plan has been in operation since 1921. Nearly all of the States are now cooperating in it. While figures are not the best criteria in respect to the success of this particular movement, they are at least helpful in understanding its scope. According to recent figures over 16,000 disabled people were receiving vocational retraining or were approved for such training to refit them for self-support, and over 30,000 had been retrained.

# *The United States Constitution and State Legislatures*

By ORVILLE S. POLAND

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THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY at its recent session passed a resolution asking for a constitutional convention to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment; a majority of the Senate stood ready to concur, but through a legislative technicality it could not be brought to a vote before the Legislature adjourned; no doubt it will pass the next Legislature.

Thirty-five States previously in the past century, thirty-two within thirty years, have asked for a constitutional convention to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States. When thirty-two States ask for a convention, the Constitution says that Congress shall call one.

Will such a convention have the power to take the whole Constitution apart and put back some of the pieces together with new material? Or can it do only limited tinkering? Shall we find in a new Constitution a national initiative and referendum? Will the electoral college be abolished? Will the convention agree only on repealing the Eighteenth Amendment or will our entire structure of government be remodeled, if the convention is held?

The requests of the States for a constitutional convention are made pursuant to Article V of the Federal Constitution, which reads:

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments. \* \* \*

The original Constitutional Convention submitted the Constitution and adjourned on Sept. 17, 1787. The last business the convention did was to adopt Article V on Sept. 15, 1787. Pro-

visions for amending the Constitution had been before the convention since early in the session. The question of how the Constitution might be amended was vigorously disputed. The Articles of Confederation could be amended only by unanimous consent of all the States in the Confederation. The atmosphere of the convention was charged with a feeling of jealousy for the sovereignty of the individual States. There was little Federal consciousness and it took but the slightest suggestion of limitation of State sovereignty to give rise to the most vigorous protests. Serious objection was made to any proposal for the amendment of the Constitution whereby the rights of any one State could be limited by the joint action of other States. Roger Sherman argued that two-thirds or three-fourths of the States might join together and deprive some one or two States of representation or of Statehood altogether. However, on May 29, 1787, in the draft of the Constitution proposed by Charles Pinckney Article XVI read:

If two-thirds of the Legislatures of the States apply for the same the Legislature of the United States shall call a convention for the purpose of amending the Constitution. Or should Congress, with the consent of two-thirds of each house, propose to the States amendments to the same, the agreement of two-thirds of the Legislatures of the States shall be sufficient to make the said amendments part of the Constitution.

It is not certain what became of this proposed method of amendment, because, on June 11, while the convention was sitting as a committee of the whole, a resolution was adopted declaring that a provision ought to be made for the amendment of the Articles of the Union "whenever it seemed necessary." Mr. Randolph submitted

this as a part of the report of the committee of the whole on June 13 and his report was adopted on July 23.

The resolutions of the convention were then referred to a committee of detail for the purpose of reporting a Constitution. This committee was set up on July 26 and consisted of Rutledge, Randolph, Gorham, Ellsworth and Wilson. On Aug. 6 this committee reported a draft of the Constitution. This contained Article XIX:

On the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States of the Union for an amendment to this Constitution, the Legislatures of the United States shall call a convention for that purpose.

On Sept. 10 this Article XIX was amended by adding this clause:

Or the Legislature may propose amendments to the several States for their approbation but no amendment shall be binding until consented to by three-fourths of the States.

James Madison then came forward with the request that this article be laid on the table so that one which he had drafted might be considered. Madison's draft read:

The Legislature of the United States, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary or on the application of two-thirds of the Legislatures of the several States, shall propose amendments to this Constitution. \* \* \*

The rest of this article dealt with how amendments should be ratified.

Alexander Hamilton seconded the proposal of Madison and the article was adopted. On Sept. 15, as the convention was about to adjourn, Article V again came before it. Colonel Mason, as reported in Elliot's *Debates*, "thought the plan of amending the Constitution exceptionable and dangerous. As the proposing of amendments is in both the modes to depend, in the first immediately, in the second ultimately, on Congress, no amendment of the proper kind would ever be obtained by the people if the government should become oppressive, as he verily believed would be the case." Gouverneur Morris (Federalist) and Elbridge Gerry (Republican) joined in proposing an amendment to meet Colonel Mason's objec-

tion. By the terms of the Morris-Gerry amendment, Congress would no longer be free to propose the amendments. So, Article V, upon the adoption of the proposal of Morris and Gerry, assumed its final form and we have it in this form today:

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

This review of the historical background would seem to indicate that the framers of Article V had a definite purpose in the particular phraseology used in respect to the proposing of amendments and that that purpose was to make it impossible for amendments to the Constitution to be proposed only by Congress. The framers of the Constitution wanted to provide for another source of proposed amendments and, therefore, specifically and at the last moment, changed the phraseology to permit proposal by conventions.

James Madison had raised the question as to how a convention should be called and what rules should govern it. These questions still remain unanswered, but there seems to be little doubt but that the power to propose amendments is resident in such a convention when called. The practical aspect of this is that no request or resolution or act of legislature or Congress can propose the amendments or determine in advance the agenda of the convention.

The thirty-five States which have asked for a constitutional convention, as set forth in Senate document No. 78 of the seventy-first Congress, specified

a good many reasons for calling the convention. Some wanted to prohibit polygamy; others to control trusts. Many were for the direct election of Senators while some were general, and one wanted to do away with the protective tariff. Does this disparity of purpose prevent the requests being added together to make the thirty-two that are necessary in order that there should be an obligation on Congress? Probably not, for since it is clear that the State cannot determine the agenda of the convention in advance, any attempt to determine it is likely to be considered practically as surplusage.

The question today is: May all the applications for a convention since the adoption of the Constitution be added together so as to total the requisite thirty-two or two-thirds of the States?

It is a matter of record that thirty-five States have applied for a convention and that more than thirty-two have applied in the last twenty-five or thirty years. New York State, for example, has twice made such application, the first time in 1789 and again in 1906. Clearly, if it was intended that the applications should be cumulative without respect to time, the framers of the Constitution must also have intended that at some time such a convention would be called—if not now, one hundred or one thousand years from now. The framers of the Constitution must have intended fairly contemporaneous action. The States were then but thirteen in number. France, Spain and Great Britain claimed dominion over all of what now constitutes nearly three-fourths of the United States. A great deal of the territory which fell within the domain of the United States in 1787 gave but little promise of ever being anything else than wilderness. The centre of population was between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Niagara was beyond the frontier and Buffalo was primeval forest. In any general sense, the framers of the Constitution were thinking of a Constitution for the world in which they lived and not for the United States of today.

On analogous matters action was ex-

peditious. As a part of the bargain of adopting the Constitution, ten amendments were agreed upon which would very shortly be made a part of the new Constitution. After this, the first two amendments were the Eleventh and Twelfth. The Eleventh Amendment was proposed on Dec. 2, 1793. In less than three and a half years, Congress passed a resolution asking George Washington to find out what had become of the amendment. It was then learned that the Colonies had taken action and in January, 1798, a proclamation was issued declaring the Eleventh Amendment part of the Constitution.

James Madison argued in the Virginia convention, urging the adoption of the Constitution, that amendments would be very easy. There is every indication that the framers of the Constitution contemplated quick and nearly contemporaneous action. The decisions of the courts support the inference that applications have to be reasonably near in point of time.

The leading case on this matter is *Dillon v. Gloss*, 256 U. S. 370. This case held the Eighteenth Amendment to be valid in spite of the Harding clause requiring ratification to be completed within seven years after submission. The court in this case cites with approval Jameson on Constitutional Conventions:

An alteration of the Constitution proposed today has relation to the sentiment and the felt needs of today, and that, if not ratified early while that sentiment may fairly be supposed to exist, it ought to be regarded as waived, and not again to be voted upon unless a second time proposed by Congress.

The court in the case went on to say:

That the Constitution contains no express provision on the subject is not in itself controlling; for with the Constitution as with a statute, or other written instrument, what is reasonably implied is as much a part of it as what is expressed.

We do not find anything in the article which suggests that an amendment, once proposed, is open to ratification for all time, or that ratification in some of the states may be separated from that in others by many years and yet be effective. We do find that which strongly



suggests the contrary. First, proposal and ratification are not treated as unrelated acts but as succeeding steps in a single endeavor, the natural inference being that they are not to be widely separated in time. Secondly, it is only when there is deemed to be a necessity therefor that amendments are to be proposed, the reasonable implication being that when proposed they are to be considered and disposed of presently. Thirdly, as ratification is but the expression of the approbation of the people and is to be effective when had in three-fourths of the States, there is a fair implication that it must be sufficiently contemporaneous in that number of States to reflect the will of the people in all sections at relatively the same period, which, of course, ratification scattered through a long series of years would not do.

We conclude that the fair inference or implication upon Article V is that the ratification must be within some reasonable time after the proposal.

If it be assumed that applications "are not to be widely separated in time," and that they must "reflect the will of the people in all sections at relatively the same period," then the rule in respect to applications for a constitutional convention may be stated as that there must be a reasonable coincidence of necessity for the application. The necessity need not be identical in each application because no application can limit or determine the agenda of the convention. Disparity of material need not defeat the applications so long as it can be fairly said that there is a reasonable coincidence of necessity.

An application cannot limit nor determine the amendments proposed by a convention because it is the specific business of the convention to propose the amendments. It must follow, therefore, that there is no way to limit the agenda of the convention after it once meets. If the convention should choose to take the Constitution apart, remake it, and put it together again there is nothing to prevent it, and such an amended Constitution would be the Constitution if it subsequently should be ratified by the various States. The decisions of the authorities sustain this view:

A constitutional convention lawfully convened does not derive its powers from

the legislatures, but from the people; the powers of a constitutional convention are in the nature of sovereign powers; the legislature can neither limit nor restrict them in the exercise of these powers. (*Loomis v. Jackson*, 6 W. Va. 613.)

Elihu Root in a pertinent statement in the constitutional convention in 1899 in New York enunciated the principle thus:

The convention has been created by the direct action of the people and has been by them vested with the power and charged with the duty to revise and amend the organic law of the State. The function with which it is thus charged is a part of the highest and most solemn act of popular sovereignty, and in its performance the convention has and can have no superior but the people themselves. No court or legislative or executive officer has authority to interfere with the exercise of that power or the performance of the duties of their immediate agent.

It is far more important that a constitutional convention should possess these safeguards of its independence than it is for an ordinary legislature, because the convention's acts are of a more momentous and lasting consequence, and because it has to pass upon the power, emoluments and the very existence of the judicial and legislative officers who might otherwise interfere with it. The convention furnishes the only way by which the people can exercise their will in respect to these officers and their control over the convention would be wholly incompatible with the free exercise of that will.

There seems to be no dispute on the basis of authority but that a constitutional convention is sovereign—a law unto itself.

Can Congress be compelled to call a convention or may it disregard the applications of the States? Louis Cuvillier of the New York Assembly argued that Congress can be compelled to call a convention upon the application of thirty-two States and that mandamus is the proper remedy. The thirty-two States have applied. If the courts will grant a writ of mandamus to compel Congress to call a constitutional convention to propose amendments to the Constitution the questions involved will be speedily answered.

# *Present-Day Trends in the Colleges*

By WILLIAM JOHN COOPER  
UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

THE PRESENT decade in the United States is witnessing such an outpouring of men and women of higher education as would have been considered beyond all possibility by sanguine educators of any previous period. This is shown by the number of students attending colleges and universities for four successive periods ten years apart:

1899	.....	163,000	1919	.....	428,000
1909	.....	253,000	1929 (estmd)	.....	1,237,000

Not less astounding is the fact that all the other countries of the world combined have not so many students in colleges and universities. Figures compiled by the United States Office of Education indicate that there are probably 950,000 college and university students in the world outside this country, which thus holds the first place for output of college graduates.

The probable explanation of the growth of higher education in the United States is increased prosperity. More young people can afford to go to college than ever before. It would not be possible for them to do so, however, if there were not secondary schools to prepare them. The growth of high school attendance for the same four decades as in the table above is shown in the following figures:

1899	.....	665,000	1919	.....	2,320,000
1909	.....	1,035,000	1929	.....	4,486,000

Our figures place high school attendance outside the United States at about 6,000,000, or 43 per cent of the students of the world who are going to secondary schools.

Among the momentous changes which have taken place since Watt invented the steam engine in 1769 has been the coming of opportunity for any one to rise from the ranks of the lowliest to the highest political office and from dire poverty to the wealthiest economic status. We have told our boys

and girls that America is the land of opportunity where there are no castes, and in these later days we have begun to realize that education is the real key to equality. Were educational opportunity dependent on the wealth of parents, the caste system which we have striven to avoid would within two or three generations become an actual reality. In America, however, education is available to most if not all. It is an important condition for the preservation of democracy which some of the fathers of the republic clearly foresaw.

Franklin, the self-educated, self-made man, and probably the greatest democrat of all the founders, promoted the idea of an academy twenty years before Watt's patent was issued, forty years before Washington assumed the Presidency. In this academy there were, in addition to Latin which constituted the central subject in secondary schools of the time, departments of English and mathematics. By 1769 this institution had become the University of Pennsylvania. It was one of the nine small colleges existing in America at that time, but the students attending all of them could have been given instruction on a single floor of a typical city high school of today.

It is doubtful if any of those institutions before the Revolutionary War had more than 100 collegiate students. Boys of twelve and over who had learned the rudiments of Latin and Greek were admitted. Harvard College graduated Increase Mather in 1656 at 17 and John Hancock at the same age in 1754. John Adams completed his course the next year at 20 and his son a generation later graduated at the same age.

With the exception of the University of Pennsylvania, which reflected the ideals of Franklin, all these colleges were primarily schools of theology. Harvard, founded by a Puritan minister, was supported by a Colonial As-

sembly "dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches." One of the chief objects of William and Mary, the second college to be established, was that "the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel." A half century after Yale was founded the General Assembly of Connecticut declared that "one principal and proposed end in erecting the college is to supply the churches in this country with a learned, pious and orthodox ministry." Princeton was established by Presbyterians, Columbia by Episcopalians, Brown by Baptists, Rutgers by the Dutch Reformed Church, while Dartmouth grew out of a missionary school for Indian boys founded by Eleazar Wheelock, a Congregationalist minister.

The quarter-century just before 1800 witnessed the founding of more colleges than were established during the entire Colonial period, among them Bowdoin, Williams, Union, Dickinson and the University of North Carolina. During the sixty years that followed colleges were established with an increasing rapidity, 187 of them in all. Many of them were little more than secondary schools. They taught rhetoric, Latin, Greek, mathematics, chemistry, logic, philosophy, often a little psychology and metaphysics and sometimes French and German.

The floodtide of new colleges and universities has come since the Civil War. *The Educational Directory* for 1929 shows that there are now 667 of them in the United States besides 137 teachers' colleges that grant degrees and 260 junior colleges. Among these schools State-supported institutions have become increasingly important. State universities are today among the largest institutions of higher learning.

The liberal arts college long held a dominant place in education. The trend of education for the past generation has been such, however, that there is a question of whether or not they will be able to maintain themselves.

The demand made some forty years ago by President Eliot of Harvard that American schools be so reorganized

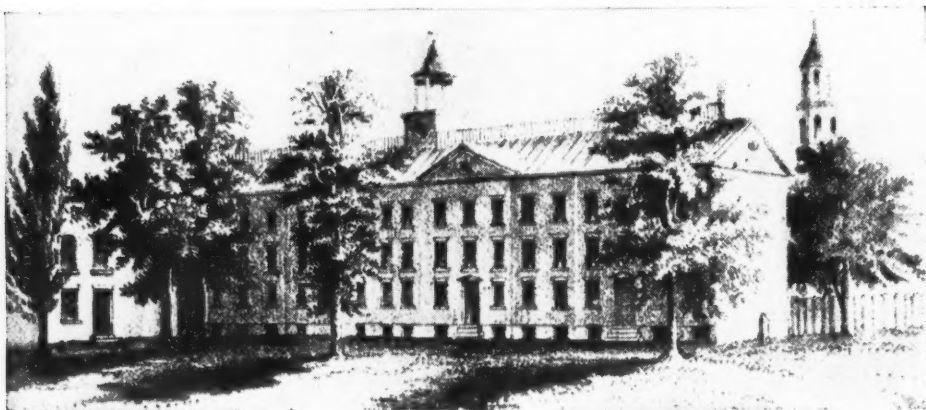
that those who planned to practice law, medicine and other professions might have opportunity to begin their careers at an earlier age has led to some changes in our secondary schools. The longer school year and better pupil attendance in elementary schools coupled with excellent equipment and well-trained teachers have made it possible to complete the essential work in six years. As one result the curriculum of the seventh and eighth grades is undergoing rapid change as these years are incorporated into junior high schools. With the addition of junior colleges eight years are available for secondary education in many places. This amount of time has been used for secondary education in France, Germany and other European countries. Such a plan is likely to result in a reorganization of secondary education into two units of four years each as has already been accomplished in some places.

Since secondary schools have in-



Harris & Ewing

WILLIAM JOHN COOPER



King's College, later Columbia, in 1770

creased greatly in popularity, it is obvious that they must minister primarily to the average student. If they are to accommodate properly the intellectually superior who will probably prepare for professional activities or directive positions in business and industry, it will be necessary to make it possible for some students to complete each of these four-year units in three years. We may, therefore, look forward to a day when students will enter the professional schools of senior college level at the age of 18 and thereby save the two years' time that President Eliot wanted them to save. But at the same time it seems that the increased economic well-being of our people will enable many whose sons and daughters will be ready for these professional schools at 18 to give them a longer period of general and cultural education. This is the first group to which liberal arts colleges of tomorrow might minister.

There is a second group of students who should favor an institution of the liberal arts type. They are those who will teach the so-called academic subjects in the high schools of the country or who will be preparing themselves to enter highly specialized graduate institutions for the purpose of research study. A third group also will undoubtedly consist of many young people, especially women, whose family fortunes make immediate vocational objective

unnecessary, and who should be prepared for the highest type of home-making and civic leadership. These groups will embrace enough students to support many liberal arts colleges. The weaker colleges which cannot fully meet these needs should change their objectives or become junior colleges as suggested below.

The junior college of the new type should prove adequate for that group of "rah-rah boys" who with little serious purpose now flood academic halls if the established colleges will be gracious enough to approve a degree at the close of it. It is likely that a careful survey will reveal a place for high-grade junior colleges of endowed type. If so, some of our present liberal arts colleges whose plant and equipment are not the best should take this status and do an excellent job in a field not now overcrowded.

The liberal arts college to survive must meet present-day conditions. These conditions are unquestionably more favorable to the university than to the college. In populous centres where universities do not now exist the older colleges may profit by the example of Harvard and Yale and add professional schools of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, education and business administration. The old liberal arts college can survive for a time in the midst of the university itself. Eventually, however, its courses will be recon-



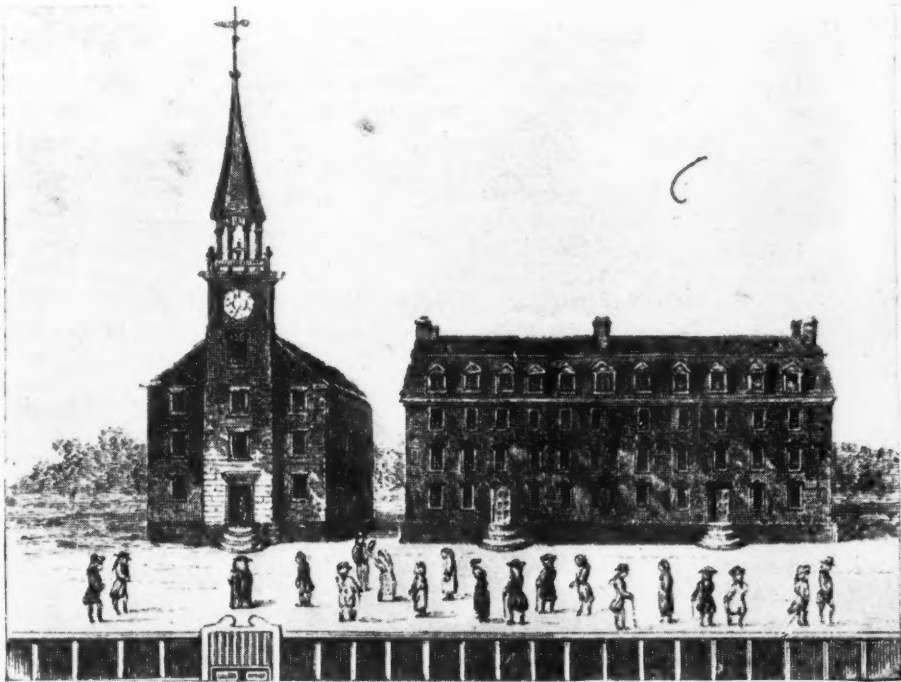
structed and it will become preparatory to the graduate school of research.

As the junior college is perfected and as the senior college and professional school enrolments increase, the universities must accept the plan toward which Stanford University is now working. This means transferring to a school of secondary grade the secondary school work now done in the freshman and sophomore years. There are many reasons for thinking that the junior college will become general.

In place of the quiet self-sufficient rural life of the past we now find the rush and hurry of the modern city. In place of an economic system in which each plantation or community was able to supply its own needs, we have an industry highly specialized and with minute divisions of labor. To exchange these commodities armies of salesmen travel on fast trains or in airplanes. Other armies of bookkeepers, accountants and bankers are required to record and finance their transactions. Thousands of generalissimos of business are

required to manage the enterprises and tens of thousands of lawyers attempt to prevent mistakes and untangle difficulties. All this complicated social machine is easily crippled by failure of all hands to play the game and to play it according to rules often not very clear. Such a society makes heavy demands on education. To make people understand and appreciate this society and to train its semi-professional workers is a field for the junior college.

To train the technician there is appearing a new agency in the city university. There are at present nine urban colleges in the United States: the College of Charleston; the University of Louisville; the College of the City of New York; Hunter College, New York; the University of Cincinnati; the University of the City of Toledo; the Municipal University of Akron; the College of the City of Detroit, and the Municipal University of Wichita. Detroit University, only twelve years old, is the first and only one of the urban institutions to attain full university



YALE COLLEGE IN 1793



*College Architecture in America, Scribner's, 1929*  
School of Commerce, Northwestern University

rank in the sense that it has the usual professional schools. Striking as this fact may seem at first, it is not surprising when one studies the conditions.

It is not surprising to hear of a State university in Florida, Kansas or Nebraska. This is taken as a matter of course. Detroit today has a population equal to that of Florida, Kansas or Nebraska, and in ability to support a university Detroit exceeds many States of the Union, with nearly four times the assessed valuation of Florida and nearly as much wealth as Kansas and more than Nebraska. Why should not Detroit maintain a university if it needs one? The same question might be asked of other municipalities.

In the future of metropolitan education one can envisage a system of kindergartens, elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, capped with a splendid university, offering to all who have ability and ambition an opportunity equal to that of the richest citizen. One advantage of such a university is that a modern city has no

precedents on which to build. Never before in history has it been possible for one generation to witness a metropolis of a million people develop from a straggling village. Yet this has happened to several American cities. Such a city has to be interpreted to itself. A great institution of learning supported by the city may well supply the research talent to solve the city's problems and to explain the city's needs to those citizens whose entire time and energy is spent in keeping pace with its growth.

It will be entirely fitting for the university of a metropolis to become the great laboratory in which the people of the city will work out in scientific fashion solutions for typical city problems. Within such an institution the educational system of the city should be studied objectively. In the schools of law and social science may well be drawn and debated many possible city ordinances. The intricacies of governing a great urban population might well have objective consideration there. In this way a city could bring to bear upon its problems the thinking of some of its ablest citizens.

There is another function which a municipal university may well fulfill. It may well become the soul of the city. Throughout the medieval period the spiritual side of the city was typified by the spires of the great cathedrals. Today's cities are far too large to receive their inspiration from a single church and their populations are far too diverse in interests to permit union on a given type of service. In spite of the facts that not all the people care to come to a university and that not all who are able and willing to study will choose such a school, it may well be accepted as representing the one institution for human betterment to which we all subscribe, which is supported by the tax money of all for the good of all.

# *The Regeneration of Turkey*

## I

By CALEB FRANK GATES

PRESIDENT OF ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE

THE LAUSANNE Peace Conference was the beginning of a new era for Turkey. Turkey had had a bad history and she had a bad reputation. Under the Sultans the government had exploited and oppressed the people, both Turks and Christians. Especially in the long reign of Abdul-Hamid the chief preoccupation of the government had been to extort money from the people and harsh measures were used to collect it.

After the fall of Abdul-Hamid the government of the Young Turk party, the Committee of Union and Progress, which began full of enthusiasm for reform, did little to redeem Turkey's reputation and it soon became an oligarchy as oppressive as the reign of Abdul-Hamid.

Hence even in 1922 the idea that the Turks were incapable of governing themselves and that they should not be allowed to govern Christians was firmly fixed in the minds of the statesmen assembled at Lausanne. The Treaty of Sèvres at the end of the World War, drawn up under this conviction, provided for the dismemberment of Turkey, the removal of Christians from her control and the setting up of a national home for the Armenians within the boundaries of the old Ottoman Empire.

The National party, which came into power in Turkey in 1920, rejected the Treaty of Sèvres and, by driving the Greeks out of Asia Minor and the strength of their army, compelled the powers to give them a hearing. The Turks came to Lausanne not as the delegates of a nation vanquished in war but as the representatives of a people determined to be "masters in their own house" with an army on a war footing ready to make good their

demands. The allied powers were weary of war and their peoples were not ready to make any more sacrifices.

Handicapped by their history and their reputation the Turks demanded to be judged not by their past but by the future which they hoped to achieve; they asked the powers to help them to set up a new democracy founded on justice and liberty.

These protestations of reform were received with incredulity, and the Lausanne Peace Conference became a struggle between old ideas and new. And the new triumphed. Turkey had an army ready to enforce its claims, and Europe yielded to her military strength. She was at that time the only nation ready and willing to fight to make good her claim to national sovereignty. Slowly, grudgingly, the statesmen of Great Britain and Europe yielded. They wasted much time in preparing themselves and their people to accept what was from the beginning of the conference a foregone conclusion that Turkey must be given a chance to make good her effort to establish a modern, progressive government cut loose from the despotism of the past and founded on democratic principles.

Mahmud Bey, the Deputy from Sirt, wrote in the *Milliet* of Dec. 13, 1929, a signed editorial giving a Turkish view of the Lausanne Peace Conference and, particularly, of the economic needs of the new Turkey. He said in brief: "The reveille has sounded again for Turkey. The Turkish nation has vanquished its enemies in the political and military domain. The difficulty is to win success in the realm of civilization and of science and to show our capacity in the sphere of economics." The writer reminds his readers that political independence was attained with compara-

tive ease at Lausanne, but that economic independence was almost out of the question. Finally, through the insistence of Ismet Pasha, in the face of unanimous feeling that "Turkey can not live without foreign financial cooperation," the Allies gave in. Turkey received financial, economic independence. The editorial closes with a plea that all Turkey cooperate to maintain this economic independence and to win the battle "for our national economic safety."

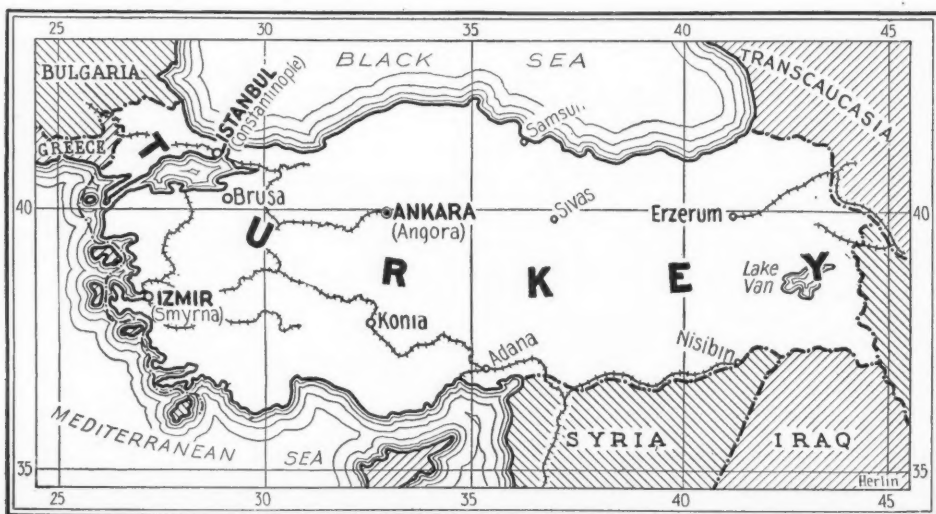
This editorial was written as a contribution to the campaign to arrest the depreciation of the Turkish currency and to improve the financial conditions of the country by inducing the people to practice economy in their personal expenses and to buy native products instead of foreign, in order that the money may remain in the country. This Turkish paper, the *Milliet*, that is, The Nation, is well edited, tending constantly to inculcate sound principles of morals and of finance.

The Turkish delegation at Lausanne claimed that Turkey, "the New Turkey," they said, was entering upon a new régime. How far has the course of events in the seven years that have passed since that conference justified this claim? After all, seven years is not a long period in the life of a nation,

but to me, after having lived nearly half a century in Turkey, it seems that many old things have passed away and many new things have come into being.

The more drastic revolutionary changes that have taken place under the new régime are well-known: the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, of the *Tekkehs* (monasteries), of the Sacred Law, and the Arabic alphabet, the change of dress to conformity with the Western World, the elimination of the religion of Islam from the constitution, and the nationalizing of all education, including the *medressehs* (religious colleges). Taken together these deeds constitute an unparalleled revolution in the life of a people.

Another change which has been less noticed is the method of collecting taxes from the peasants. For more than twenty centuries the tithing system had made the name of "tax gatherer" a term of reproach. The tithe of the grain was taken from the threshing floor by the government inspector. Rich men bought up the right to collect the taxes of one or more villages and paid down certain fixed sums to the government; then they collected the tax from the villagers. This system led to many gross abuses; it diminished production, and the farmer had no encouragement to



TURKEY AS FIXED BY THE LAUSANNE TREATY



produce more than his own family required.

Under the Republic, Turkey has abolished this system of tithing the produce although it was an important source of revenue. The peasant may raise all he needs for his family untaxed, and only the grain he sells will be taxed, the tax being paid by the purchaser. This encourages production. The peasant is stimulated to greater efforts, and agriculture has become the source of the country's greatest wealth. The new government showed a genuine regard for the welfare of the peasants and for the interests of the State in abolishing the tithing system.

A very great change has taken place in the attitude of the Government of Turkey toward the people. In the years when I lived in the interior of Asia Minor I never heard that the government consulted the people about its policies. The will of the padishah was the policy of the government. It was expressed in an *iradeh*, a decree emanating from the will of the sovereign. Generally in the history of nations, reforms have come from the peoples weary of oppression, have risen from the bottom of the nation to its top. In Turkey the opposite of this has taken place. The reforms have been devised by the group of men in power and have been embodied in laws to which the people were required to conform; the government has, however, taken the greatest pains to explain these laws to the people, that they may understand the benefits accruing from the laws to themselves. The deputies go to their constituencies and address them on the measures contemplated by the government. To an exceptional extent the President of the Republic, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, has visited the towns of the country and taken the people into his confidence, trying to make them feel not only that the measures decreed by the government are for their benefit but that the people themselves are the real governors of the nation and that authority is vested in them. On one occasion he



S. K. S. News

PRESIDENT MUSTAPHA  
KEMAL

said: "The State is yours. You are the State. No one has any right to intervene in the destinies of this State, not Sultans nor Caliphs, nor any others. It is to you, to the nation that these powers belong. In the last analysis we are charged to execute your will, to serve your interests. Since you have charged us with the responsibility for administering the affairs of the State I consider myself responsible to you." Never before had the people of Turkey heard such words as these from any of their rulers.

Mustapha Kemal has tried to awaken in the people a sense of civic responsibility, which did not and could not exist under the old despotic régime and under the system of millets or communities of different nationalities.

To this end also he has ardently pushed the campaign for adult education, making use of the Latin characters instead of the Arabic. This change

in the letters makes certain difficulties for those who have become accustomed to the old letters. They cannot read so easily or so rapidly as before. It also will make the old Turkish literature the possession of scholars only in the course of time. But it greatly simplifies learning to read, and through the people's schools, which are being established, it will reduce the percentage of illiteracy in the country. When the peasants learn to read the papers they will take a new interest in national affairs. Turkish writers consider this change of letters as the most important of all the reforms which the Ghazi has introduced. The rapidity with which the change has been made is due largely to the tremendous driving force of the President of the republic.

The Turkish newspaper already mentioned, the *Milliet*, is publishing a series of addresses and conferences given by Mustapha Kemal Pasha in various parts of the country from the early days of the republic down to the present time. In these conferences he urges the people to ask questions of him and to explain to him their views and their needs.

In his conferences he inquired very minutely into the number of schools, their courses of instruction, the school buildings, the teachers. He said, "every minister of education has had his own program. Because of the application of these different programs our education has become very bad." He advocated a national program of education which should not be changed with the change of ministers.

Of particular interest are the explanations given by the Ghazi in regard to the abolition of the Caliphate. I can only give extracts from his addresses on this subject. He pointed out that the Turkish nation has established a National Assembly and that the nation has a President. The nation recognizes no other authority; the Caliphate, therefore, has no official quality or character in the State.

"If the Caliphate signifies a center of direction extending to the whole Mos-

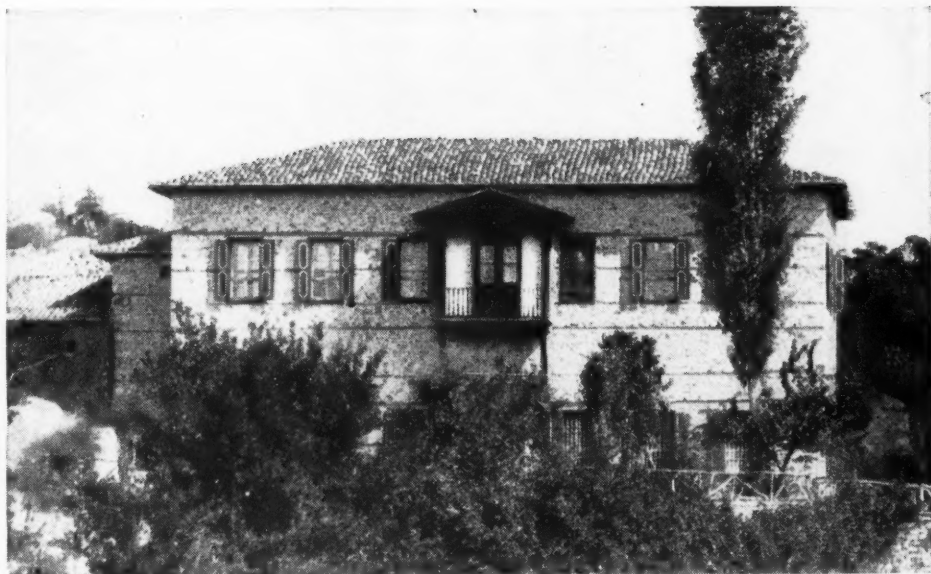
lem world, this has never been realized in history. It has never been true that the entire Islamic world has been governed by a single man in the quality of Caliph. There have been and are now a number of Caliphs in different countries. How is it possible to suppose that the Mussulmans of Egypt, of India, of Turkey and of the Occident can be torn away from the conditions and the traditions of their surroundings to group themselves in one religious community. This is the verdict of history and it is also the verdict of the religious law. In reality there exists no Caliph from the religious point of view. You know that the prophet himself said, 'Thirty years after me there will be no Caliph.'

Mustapha Kemal pointed out that while some Mussulman States were independent, others were subject to foreign powers. To unite these under one Caliph they must first obtain their liberty. The military power of Turkey is not adequate for such a task. For all these reasons, he concluded, there is no place for a Caliph under present conditions.

To some the abolition of the Caliphate may seem an act of irreligion but it is not so viewed by a Moslem gentleman of Calcutta, S. Khuda Buksh. He published an article in the *Moslem Review* of Calcutta which is reproduced in the *Moslem World* for January from which I give the following extracts:

"The abolition of the Caliphate is the most momentous event of modern times. Far-reaching are its consequences and I maintain, consequences for good. Its prolongation till yesterday demonstrates how the ideas of a vanished age live and linger long after they have spent their force and served their purpose. The Turks before, as now, have rendered heroic service to Islam. At the time of the dwindling of the Arab power they gave to it fresh life and activity and today they have vindicated as never before the innate strength of Islam to rise to the occasion to remold its spiritual boundaries, to reshape its political creed."

Possibly he sees more in the abolition of the Caliphate than the Turks



Ewing Galloway

President Kemal's "palace" in Ankara, which typifies the modern simplicity of the new Turkish régime

perceived in it, but his view is interesting as coming from an educated Moslem in India. He traces the history of the Caliphate, showing that it was first a spiritual institution in which the temporal power was subject to the spiritual; then the spiritual power was separated from the temporal. Islam lost its spiritual chief in 1258 A. D. when the Mongols took Bagdad and killed the Caliph, his two sons and many kinsmen. The Caliphate continued in Egypt, but the Sultan of Egypt was the temporal ruler. The Ottoman Sultans arrogated the Caliphate to themselves when Sultan Selim conquered Egypt. While of yore the temporal power had been lodged in the person of the spiritual chief, now in the altered state of things, though the spiritual and temporal power remained in the hands of one and the same person, it was lodged no longer, as in days gone by, in the High Priest of Islam, but in an avowedly temporal ruler—the Sultan. *However outward this subordination of religion to State, it marks an important stage in the history of Islamic civilization.*

Thus the reform or the revolution effected by Kemal Pasha is not, as is

erroneously supposed, a reform or revolution effected under the inspiration of the West, but is the final fruition of purely Islamic ideas long struggling into supremacy. The abolition of the Caliphate on the 3d of March, 1924, is the natural culmination of events long moving in that direction.

The Turks, once again, as in the past they rescued the tottering empire of the Arabs, "have today revived the fading glory of Islam."

The President of the Republic in his conferences explains his policies to the people on many subjects. We may infer that whenever he desires to enact a new measure in the political, social or economic sphere he seeks an occasion to bring this measure before the people and to instruct them as to its meaning and its importance. To estimate rightly the value of this method of procedure we must view it against the background of the past history of Turkey. My long acquaintance with conditions and affairs makes this seem a very great change in the attitude of the government toward the people. It is a method calculated to strengthen the hold of the government upon the people,

and to contribute to the educating and the unifying of the people.

The Western World can hardly withhold its admiration for so brave an effort to bring Turkey, which so long remained a backward nation, into the path of reform and progress.

Just now the thinking of the government centres upon its financial and economic problems. It labors under great difficulties. The people have much to unlearn: economic traditions are lacking, the country has little capital, the purchasing power of the people is small. The government has been obliged to carry out its reforms through officials

who were trained under the old régime. From time to time the newspapers cite instances of corruption and abuse of office, which under the old régime passed almost unnoticed. Men shrugged their shoulders and took them as a part of the ordinary course of things. Under the new order of things these offenses are brought to trial and punished.

Turkey is now trying to bring abuses to the light and to remove them. It is not an easy task to make a nation over. The difficulties are enormous. Many conditions are still bad, but an honest effort is being made to improve them.

CONSTANTINOPLE, January, 1930.

## II

By OWEN TWEEDY

BRITISH PUBLICIST AND AUTHOR

I HAD NOT BEEN in Turkey for two years, and two years is a long time in the youth of a young republic. In 1928 I had been impressed by the potentialities of New Turkey centred in Ankara (Angora), and I had marveled over a post-war regeneration which extended even to the hats which the Turks were to wear and to the script in which they were from henceforth to conduct their correspondence. And Turkey in 1928 still retained much of the old régime—on all sides traces of the Moslem Orient which, then as now, looked on Constantinople as the arbiter of policy and fashion. The year 1928, in fact, belonged to the stage of transition. Something had been destroyed which, with all its faults, had been something. Was that which was being created to replace it, permanent or transitory?

In 1928 I reached Ankara from Constantinople, one of many other foreigners full of schemes for the development of Turkey through foreign enterprise. This year I entered Turkey by the back door and was the only foreigner on the Anatolian Express the day I traveled. The hotel porter in Ankara informed me sadly that if I

had come after business there was nothing doing. Turkey was in the financial doldrums, and economy, not development, was the order of the day.

I spent my first day in Ankara inspecting the town, searching for signs of the financial depression of which he spoke so feelingly. During two years absence the place had developed out of all knowledge, and it was no mushroom growth of stucco exhibition palaces and sham effects. The new buildings were solid, massive and well-architected. The boulevards, which in 1928 seemed aimless thoroughfares running through blank landscape, had become crowded traffic communications between houses and offices which had multiplied 200 per cent. In a word, a town-planning scheme, of which I had seen the ambitious layout in 1928, had been notably realized, and Ankara stood out as an ocular demonstration of achievement. But how had this achievement been realized? And, as an achievement, was it permanent or transitory?

The bare facts of Turkish history in the last twelve years are common knowledge—the post-war collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek invasion, the Turkish renaissance of 1920,



which secured the ejection of the Greek armies from Anatolia, the Treaty of Lausanne, the abolition of the Sultan-Caliphate and the founding of the republic. These facts did not, however, satisfy my doubts. Ankara had been built, not as a result of events, but with a future purpose. I abandoned history and turned to men, the men of the new régime who had participated in this Turkish renaissance. Out of numerous conversations, there emerged one fact which explained much in new Turkey otherwise inexplicable—Mustapha Kemal.

Mustapha Kemal is not, as he has frequently been labeled, a mere soldier of fortune who has gained his present position, partly as a result of a dogged refusal to accept defeat, partly as a result of the indecent quarrels and jealousies of the Allies after the armistice. He is a man of education and a thinker. As a schoolboy, proficiency in mathematics leaned him toward an academic career. But the Turk is instinctively a warrior, and Mustapha Kemal was no exception to the rule. He abandoned the idea of a Constantinople professorship and devoted his proved talents to the study of military history. He read voraciously and promiscuously and, his reading material being entirely European, his mind gradually assumed a European outlook which, in its turn, provoked a critical mentality toward his own country. Gradually he concentrated on Napoleonic history and Napoleonic policy; and, as he watched the increasingly rapid decadence of Turkey, there grew in his mind a wonder as to how a Napoleon would have arrested this Ottoman rot. It would be an exaggeration to say that, twenty-five years ago, Mustapha Kemal was dreaming of himself as the Napoleon of Turkey. Then he was but a young Turk who participated in the overthrow of Abdul Hamid. Nor in the succeeding régime did he play a public rôle; he was not apparently at any time either a close colleague or an admirer of Enver Pasha with his policy of complete reliance on Germany. After the war, however, which completely dis-

credited Enver and his group, Mustapha Kemal survived, almost alone, among those of the original Young Turks who had given Turkey a Constitution. His war record had been brilliant. His determination at a given moment had saved the Dardanelles: he had uncompromisingly refused to allow military decisions in the field to be influenced by political lobbyings in Constantinople. He emerged in 1919 with an enhanced military reputation and with an unsullied political past.

His analysis of Napoleonic history had induced three conclusions to explain Napoleon's successful regeneration of France. Napoleon had been the liberator of France from foreign invasion and of the French people from the tyranny of aristocratic and secular domination. Napoleon had been constructive, but not arbitrarily so in the sense that he created not out of his own imagination but out of his knowledge of the past and of French psychology. Lastly, Napoleon, once pre-eminent, had never permitted the survival of a possible rival among his own countrymen. These three deductions inspired the policy of a Republic and of Mustapha Kemal himself. By 1923 he was the acclaimed liberator of the Fatherland from the Greek invasion; at Lausanne he secured the abolition of the capitulations; simultaneously he had destroyed the aristocratic and secular domination of the Caliph-Sultanate.

This last achievement had been, perhaps, the most difficult. Mustapha Kemal was not the first to attempt democratic reform in Turkey. Three great Sultans of the old Ottoman régime had been reformers in a similar direction. All failed through a lack of Napoleonic thoroughness. Reforms toward the betterment of the lot of the Turkish people inevitably provoked the hostility of the aristocratic and religious hierarchies, who in Turkey, as elsewhere, were the prototypes of reaction. Mustapha Kemal learned his lesson from these experiences and from Napoleon. He took no risks. The Sultanate was abolished, then the Caliphate; all

representatives of the old Ottoman dynasty were expelled from Turkey; the Moslem hierarchic régime was reduced to impotence; religious property and treasure was absorbed into the State budget and the old religious code of law was merged into a new code founded on Swiss and Italian models and applicable to all and every one in Turkey.

Meanwhile, his person had been in danger. His position and his success provoked jealousy and there were many waiting a suitable chance to step into his shoes. Every year since 1920 has revealed some far-reaching plot against the Ghazi's life. In his measures of punishment Mustapha Kemal has out-Napoleoned Napoleon. And wisely, for the East must be ruthless to succeed.

All these activities have been the work of a man of action; but Mustapha Kemal is no blind man of action; he is also a psychologist on Napoleonic lines. If he was to become great, if the new Republic was to become great, he must raise the Turkish people, through whom only greatness could be achieved, out of the Ottoman pre-war Slough of Despond. The necessity of degrading Islam as a political power in Turkey complicated matters, since Mustapha Kemal's policy involved the destruction of the Caliphate which was the main-spring of Islam in Turkey. Its destruction was politically a source of strength to the young Republic but it created a blank in Turkish life. Mustapha Kemal realized that to destroy without substituting something better than the destroyed, was dangerous. He set out to inspire in the Turkish man-in-the-street a national pride so intense that it would take the place of the old religious fanaticism.

The Greek invasion helped him. The Fatherland was being invaded and by a Christian power. Out of this double reaction was born in Turkish minds a national ideal of patriotism such as had never existed before. And in his campaign against the religious powers Mustapha Kemal has ever been careful to disassociate himself from any idea that he wished to destroy religion. The faithful are, he stresses, to worship freely,

each man according to his lights, but always within limits which prevent religious fervor becoming dangerous to the interests of the State.

The reform of religion had dangerous aspects among the male population, but it was justly popular with Turkish women. The new code not only granted them civic equality but also abolished the old religious laws of divorce. No longer was it enough for a husband to say to his wife three times in front of a witness "I divorce thee." Today not only must the husband go to the law courts to prove grounds for divorce but also the wife can get rid of her husband if he has given her legal cause. Woman in New Turkey is now a factor in the national equation.

These religious reforms were designed directly and indirectly to raise the personal and national morale of all in Turkey. But they did not contribute toward the raising of the standards of personal and national efficiency. Turkey up to 1920 was copiously bespattered with Greek and Armenian colonists, who, owing to the natural indolence of the Turk, conducted the business of the country. After the Treaty of Lausanne they were summarily expelled. In one sense the Turk saw their departure without regret. Protected by the capitulations, they had exceptional privileges both in trade and in the general conduct of life, of which they naturally made the most. But in another respect their expulsion was less welcome. The Turk quickly found that commerce was extremely complicated and, when left to his own devices, he proved to be a poor and most unbusiness-like trader, and he consequently suffered financially. This act of expulsion, though natural and patriotic, has still to justify itself by results, but it did give impetus to the pursuit of efficiency.

The first stage of Mustapha Kemal's program of training was toward national self-respect, without which no development of efficiency was possible. He started elementarily. "No man or woman," he enunciated, "whose appearance provokes curiosity or, worse,

amusement, can hope to earn, much less to preserve, national self-respect. The fez was borrowed from the Greeks. The veil was an Arab convention, suitable to primitive desert conditions. Neither fez nor veil is bound sentimentally to the ideal of Turkish nationalism. Both not only isolate the Turk among the nationals of the other great nations of the world, but provoke a superiority complex in Western minds, which is ridiculous: for New Turkey is no longer the Western outpost of the Orient but the Eastern outpost of Europe." Whether the Turk understood all this or not, the fez has departed for all time, and the veil has largely disappeared; and the change has had further results. The Ottoman slovenliness of dress is less apparent and, still more remarkable, the majority of men now shave regularly, instead of, as in the past, only before the Friday prayers at the mosque.

So much accomplished, Mustapha Kemal called a temporary halt: for the Turk is slow-witted and intractable to hustle tactics. But two years later conditions were ripe for a further and more fundamental stage of training. When the Turks invaded from Central Asia they enforced their language on the conquered Anatolian. Turkish had never been written; so the conquerors

adopted for its now necessary script Arabic characters, which, though phonetically inadequate, sufficed for general utility. But Arabic script was never more than a convenient superstructure, a non-Turkish, Oriental superstructure. Mustapha Kemal was now Westernizing the exterior of New Turkey. He replaced Arabic by Latin characters, which, incidentally, would facilitate the learning of European languages, an absolute essential in his Westernizing program; he set the whole nation down to its A B C's; and he gave a year of grace to the country, at the end of which all vestiges of old Arabic script, signboards, hoardings, letterpress, were to disappear. The difficulties of this change were not so tremendous as, at their face value, they appear. Up to 1921, only 15 per cent of the population was literate; 85 per cent, knowing nothing of any writing or reading, had nothing to unlearn. They were merely children learning for the first time to read and write. Turkish statistics, though never remarkably reliable, today affirm that since the introduction of compulsory State education in 1928, the percentage of illiterates has decreased from 85 per cent to 42 per cent.

Thus far, all my investigations were enlightening and real. But my problems—the actual money tension, the sudden



Old Parliament Building, in Ankara, now the club of the People's party

necessity for economy, the suspension of the program of development—were still unanswered. The truth is that Turkey has been refashioned on extensive lines which require expensive maintenance; at the same time the Turk, who has financed this regeneration, is already taxed up to the hilt, although with his new conceptions of life his own expenses are heavier. He cannot be much further taxed; and yet Turkey needs more and more money, if only to maintain what has already been created.

The normal remedy would be international financial help, and international capital is readily available, if the Turks care to use it. But the new Turkish mentality has not yet mastered the international problems of national finance, and is terrified by possible foreign intervention.

The Turk was exploited by foreign enterprise in the past. But the time has come when the government is hard put to continue to budget parochially. It is true that Turkish industries are fostered; that the purchase of foreign goods is discouraged; that the use of foreign money is forbidden; that the departmental budgets of every Ministry have been ruthlessly cut; that a moratorium is proposed with regard to the payment of the interest on pre-war Turkish loans. Nevertheless, the Turkish pound is gradually falling. Anatolia, in so far as commercial development is concerned, is still practically a virgin region; Turkish industrial development is negligible. Such exports as there are, are entirely agricultural—grain, raisins, figs and the like—and even these harvests, owing to neglect and ignorance, are producing only a tithe of their capacity, were they properly exploited by controlled irrigation and up-to-date methods. Exports are, in fact, practically infinitesimal as against imports, which have grown out of all bounds as

Turkey has elaborated itself into a modernized State. This Turkish adverse trade balance is a problem which has hitherto baffled the new republic and, as its natural result, the Turkish pound has depreciated in accordance with the laws of high international finance.

Mustapha Kemal has done wonders toward the moral regeneration of his country: but this success is today jeopardized by the present Turkish failure to establish financial stability. My Turkish friends dwelt with varying degrees of knowledge on the necessity of forming a State bank, and thereby stabilizing the Turkish pound. The obstacle is the non-existence of State reserves to guarantee the note issue, for New Turkey has been living right up to its income. The state of affairs is thoroughly realized by the Turks themselves, and during the last year, successive foreign experts have reported as to what should be done. Little is known of the gist of their reports, save that all favored the foundation of a national bank backed by foreign money which must be secured on some Turkish asset, customs or the like.

Whatever may be the outcome of the present crisis, the fact remains that Mustapha Kemal's reputation is staked on the arresting of the inflation of the Turkish pound. He may be bold enough to accept controlled foreign financial assistance to finance the founding of a State bank. He may still have up his sleeve some domestic *deus ex machina* to ease, if not solve, the situation. But this much is certain: failure to reassure his countrymen on financial grounds, will, sooner or later, undermine his personal position in the country. An iconoclast, to produce lasting results, must have consistent success. Turkey, at the moment, is at the cross-roads; Mustapha Kemal has made his bed and now he must sleep in it.



# *Franco-Italian Discord*

By ROBERT C. BINKLÉY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, SMITH COLLEGE

**F**RANCO-ITALIAN rivalry in the Mediterranean threatens to bring to the present decade the same kind of demoralization that Anglo-German rivalry in the North Sea brought to the decade before the war. The London conference, by quieting other rivalries, has made this one more conspicuous than it was before. Just as the Treaty of Versailles put an end to naval competition in the North Sea, and the Washington Conference closed the era of large-scale competitive building in the Pacific, so the London conference has spread the oil of international understanding over the Atlantic. But there remains the Mediterranean, now the area of controversy for France and Italy.

The controversy between France and Italy covers many points of contact, from crude territorial rivalry to an antagonism in the sphere of ideas. There is a territorial question in what the Fascisti see as another *Italia Irredenta*—Corsica, Nice and Savoy. There is a colonial controversy extending from Tunis to the Red Sea. There is combat in the field of ideas both as regards internal government and international relations. The French idea of liberal democracy opposes the Fascist ideal of discipline and hierarchy; the French ideal of world order based on law confronts the Fascist ideal of world order in which the realities of population and power are decisive and in which expansion of national frontiers is not the crime of aggression but the natural duty of a nation.

The history of Italian unification in the nineteenth century indicates a line of policy which, projected into the future, leads toward a conflict between France and Italy for the territories along the border which have either an Italian-speaking population or a historical connection with Italy, namely,

Nice, Savoy and Corsica. Nice, birthplace of Garibaldi, and Savoy, home of Italy's national dynasty, were ceded to France in 1861 as payment for the aid and complaisance of Napoleon III in the unification of Italy. Corsica was conquered by the French from Genoa in the eighteenth century. The idea is now suggested in Italy that the movement of unification will not be completed until these lands are recovered. The tactics to be used in recovering them are indicated in the traditions of the *Risorgimento*; they are the methods of Cavour and Sonnino together with those of Garibaldi and d'Annunzio.

The Cavour tradition is illustrated in the well-known chapters of Italy's diplomatic history. For each step in the unification of Italy there was an appropriate alliance and a well-calculated use of war, first with France against Austria in 1859, then with Prussia against Austria in 1866, then an exploitation of the Franco-Prussian War to occupy the city of Rome in 1870. The seizure of Rome, accomplished without a preliminary treaty, was protected after the event by an alliance—the Triple Alliance of 1882, fundamentally anti-French and anti-Papal. The successive renewals of the Triple Alliance treaty gave Italy increasing rights to claim territories in the event of war. The reversion to African and Balkan lands was first recognized, and then in the 1912 text of the treaty it was provided that Italy, if victorious in a war of the Alliance against France, might take "territorial guarantees"—a diplomatic circumlocution meaning Nice and Savoy.

In the early days of August, 1914, when it seemed that Paris might be captured and the war won by Germany, it was rumored that Italy might demand Nice and Savoy as the price of Italian neutrality. The Battle of the

Marne put an end to these rumors, and left the Austrians to bargain for Italian neutrality, and the Entente to seek Italian aid. The Treaty of London, which Sonnino dictated to the Entente as the price of Italy's entry into the war, was regarded as perfidious by the Central Powers, to which Italy had been bound by the Triple Alliance, but was quite in the tradition of Cavour. Italy embarked for the third time, with a treaty of alliance in her pocket, on a

hero of d'Annunzio, but have adopted the anniversary of his descent on Fiume as a national holiday. If it should ever be necessary, in accordance with the Cavour tradition of alliance and war, to provoke an incident on the other side of a frontier, there would be little difficulty in finding a Garibaldi for the purpose.

The ethnic claims of Italy to French soil are not strong. In the plebiscite by which Nice voted itself to France there



Map showing the position of Italy and France in the Mediterranean and their colonies in Northern Africa

war for territories inhabited by Italians. The geography and racial distribution of Europe will permit at least one more such war—a war waged by Italy, with some allies, against France, for the border lands and the Island of Corsica.

The revolutionary tradition of Garibaldi, most conspicuously illustrated in the Sicilian and Neapolitan campaigns of 1860, implies a disregard of the European diplomatic situation, a contempt for the legal and governmental status quo, and a confidence in the effectiveness of unofficial armies, acting irresponsibly in the interest of a government which cannot be held accountable for their acts. When Italian diplomacy proved impotent in the Fiume crisis, d'Annunzio resorted to the Garibaldi method of forcing the situation. The Fascisti have not only made a national

were 25,000 who voted Yes to 160 who voted No. The Italian vote in Savoy was negligible. The Italian population in these districts at the opening of the century was not important—8,000 out of 247,000 in Savoy, 34,000 out of 242,000 in the region of Nice. Other eastern departments in France have Italian populations amounting to 10 per cent of the total. About 6 per cent of the population of all France is listed by the census as foreign. Though it is far too soon to speak of a majority of Italians in any region of France, the number of Italians is increasing by a net immigration of about 50,000 a year. A quiet battle goes on daily for the loyalty of these immigrants, whom the French seek to denationalize and absorb and whom Italy spends every effort to retain as Italian citizens. In Corsica the native stock and language are Italian,

but there is no movement among the people for union with Italy. Since the time is hardly ripe for the use of Cavour-Garibaldi tactics against French territory in Europe, Italy must first prevail by reason of larger elements of her own in the French population and by cultural means.

The colonial aspirations of Italy, which challenge France along the north coast of Africa, in Syria and on the Red Sea, are inspired by three ideas—those of diplomacy, population pressure and imperial Rome.

From the diplomatic standpoint Italian colonial policy is a continuation of the struggle for colonies which occupied all the great powers from 1880 to the end of the World War, and then died down partly because there were no more lands for distribution and partly because the colonizing powers found themselves sufficiently embarrassed to retain what they already held against the menace of risings among subject peoples. Italy was penalized for being late. She saw Tunis snapped up by the French in 1882, while her hopes in Abyssinia were destroyed by the defeat of her army in 1896. Her war with Turkey in 1911 brought her only the relatively barren coasts of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, with their Libyan hinterland, and a few islands. The sphere of influence in Turkey conceded to her after the World War she voluntarily renounced. To find compensation for the neglected opportunities of half a century is a hard task to give to Italian diplomacy.

Italy is at present engaged in three open controversies with France. They relate to the rights of the Italian populations of Tunis, the limits of the hinterland of Libya, and the port of Djibouti on the Red Sea.

The question of Tunis involves the fate of the 89,000 Italians living there, and ultimately the fate of the province itself. The French position in Tunis is weak because the province is a protectorate, not a part of France, and the population is more Italian than French. France would like to annex Tunis, but that would create a storm. Since the

territory is not French, but Tunisian, the Italians living there have privileges they would not have upon French soil. By a consular convention of 1896 Italian citizens under the laws of Italy are regarded as Italian citizens under the laws of Tunis. This rule, which permits Italian families who have lived for generations in Tunis to retain their nationality, is a serious obstacle to the denationalization of the Italian community, which is the first object of French policy. The French Government tries to hasten the absorption of the Italians by requiring French university certificates of those who wish to practice the professions, and by offering advantages in employment and land purchase to French citizens. The Italians resist this pressure by a strong corporate sentiment, which is only slightly weakened by the presence of anti-Fascists among the Italians. Recently a hot-headed Fascist politician named Barduzzi was appointed consul in Tunis. Anti-Fascists perpetrated four bomb outrages in the consulate and in the office of the Italian daily, *L'Unione*. The culprits were not found, and Barduzzi became a hero to the Italians of Tunis and the homeland alike by charging that the French Government connived at their escape.

The diplomatic claim of Italy to a wider hinterland in Libya is much less important. It relates to territories of negligible economic value in which there is no Italian population. When the region between French West Africa and the Sudan was being divided at the end of the nineteenth century the rival of France was Great Britain, not Italy. After the Fashoda crisis the French and British marked out the limits of their respective spheres. Italy at that time had ear-marked Tripoli and Cyrenaica as her part of the Turkish heritage, but had taken no steps to occupy it. Still she did not wish to see the French sphere of influence spread across the desert from the south and enter the Libyan hinterland. In 1900 and 1902 Italy, therefore, agreed with France upon a desert boundary between their claims in the hinterland of Libya.

When Italy seized Tripoli and Cyrenaica in 1911 she naturally accepted this boundary. At the Paris Peace Conference she demanded a revision of the boundary as agreed upon in 1902, and received a small concession in the Bonin-Pichon agreement of 1919. But Italy had a right to claim more from France than she received in the Bonin-Pichon concession. Under the Treaty of London the Entente was bound to compensate Italy if France or Great Britain received additional colonial prizes in the peace treaty. Great Britain has satisfied Italy's claim under the Treaty of London by giving her territory along the Juba River, but the bill against France is not yet paid in full. The claim for payment of this obligation also affects Djibouti, an important gateway to Abyssinia, on the shores of the Red Sea, and the port of French Somaliland, adjoining the Italian colony of Eritrea. The French have shown no disposition to yield this or any other colonial territory in satisfaction of Italian claims under the Treaty of London.

Turning to the Italian claims inspired by population pressure and imperial Roman ideas, we find that the demand for a special right to colonies is regarded by Italy as superior to rights acquired by diplomatic understandings or capital investments. A population, according to Fascist theory, has a right to the lands it needs in order to support itself; beside this reality the theories of international law are vain and hollow. A nation must buy with its blood the land upon which to expand. And the surplus population of Italy, constantly pressing for an outlet, thereby gives to Italian colonial policy a right of way which other powers must not obstruct.

Fascist thought is also inspired by the thoroughly extravagant notion of the revival of the Roman Empire.

The organ of the Italian colonial movement, *Impero*, carries on its cover a map of the Mediterranean with the words *Mare Nostrum* (Our Sea) written across it—the phrase is a program in itself. The Roman Empire, it is asserted, did not fall but merely experienced a temporary lapse. The Fascisti will re-establish Rome in its ancient position as Mistress of the Inland Sea. The elements to be used in restoring this ancient hegemony are to be found not only in the vigor and genius of the Italian race, but also in the presence of a nucleus of Italian population at all the important posts along the Mediterranean littoral. Francesco Coppola, editor of *Politica*, and one of the foremost Fascist writers on foreign policy, regards it as a national grievance that "hundreds of thousands of Italians greatly outnumbering the children of any other European race, are scattered along the basin of the Mediterranean. But in Dalmatia they are Yugoslav subjects, in Constantinople and Smyrna they do business under Turkish sovereignty, in Syria



From *Fascismo Liberatore*, Florence, Bemporad, 1923

Mussolini, the sole director of Italy's foreign policy



they are under a French mandate, in Palestine and Egypt (50,000 in Egypt alone) they are under an English protectorate; over 150,000 in Algeria and Morocco have been denationalized by the forcible absorption of France, while over 100,000 more are desperately defending their nationality in Tunis." Were Italy to come into the possession of all the Mediterranean coasts which have a sprinkling of Italians resident along them, she would indeed be mistress of *Mare Nostrum*.

According to Fascist philosophy it is an unchallengeable historic fact that the French revolution was the fountain-head of the two evil currents which threaten civilization, namely, individualism and internationalism. France herself is regarded as the chief sponsor of these errors. Her deference to liberalism in internal affairs, her tolerance of Socialist parties in her politics, and her eagerness to support the League of Nations are commented upon with scorn by the Italian press. More definite are the grievances that France gives asylum to anti-Fascists and that by building up her system of guarantees against war she is trying to restrict the possibilities of Italian expansion. The Italian press writes as fervently of expansion as the French of security. Some of the belligerent blustering of Fascist speakers must be discounted as a diversion intended for home consumption. But it follows from the character of Italian territorial and colonial aspirations that Italy is the natural opponent of the status quo in Europe just as France is its natural defender.

The danger that confronts Europe at the present time is that Franco-Italian differences should be actualized in the creation of two hostile alliances. France and Italy are respectively the leaders of groups of satellite States. The French group includes Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Its pur-

pose is avowedly the defense of the post-war treaties. Italy leads a combination consisting of Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. This group is not yet openly committed to the revision of the treaties, and in the case of Rumania would be very hostile to treaty revision. Behind the quarrel over parity at the London Naval Conference loomed the danger that Italy, if dissatisfied by the results, might seek to develop her little group of client States into a League of Defeated Powers, constituting a bloc committed to the overthrow of the French system in Europe. There is no doubt that this threat, openly uttered in the press, helped to keep Briand from isolating Italy by signing a four-power pact.

The French are now bargaining with Italy over the questions left unsettled in London. They cannot accept an actual parity of French and Italian fleets, for that would leave Italy in command of the Mediterranean and make the French colonies dependent upon international agreements for protection. And what would international agreements avail against a new Garibaldi descending upon Tunis to "liberate" the Italian settlers there? If, on the other hand, Italy abandons her claim to parity she loses not only a direct weapon against French colonial communications, but also some of her power to evoke a great anti-French coalition. A friend of Italy at this juncture would advise her to sell her parity claim for whatever colonial concessions she can obtain in exchange. The alternative is too risky in the modern world for a nation without resources of coal and iron. If Italy, refusing to come to an agreement with France, tries to build up an anti-French bloc, playing the Cavourian game of alliance for territorial gain, she will court disaster, for the world is now much more efficiently organized against a peace breaker than it was.

# *Post-War Tangles in Southeastern Europe*

By C. A. MACARTNEY  
BRITISH LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

THE ORDINARY observer sees in Southeastern Europe today an imbroglio of jealousies, mutual suspicions and hostilities which awaken in him no less impatience than perplexity. Before 1914 the Balkans were proverbial as the firebrands of Europe; today, all Europe as far as the frontiers of Switzerland and Germany seems to be "Balkanized," and a bare dozen years after a peace settlement which was hailed as a victory for democracy and liberty, complaints are loud that the treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly created a dozen problems for each one that they solved, that natural economic units have been broken up into artificial fragments whose struggles for self-sufficiency impede the progress of world trade, that an efficient and upright, if narrow and clumsy, bureaucracy has given way to political systems marked by ignorance, ineptitude and corruption, that even that special evil of national injustice which the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary hoped to remedy exists today in an aggravated form in the oppression of national minorities in almost all her successor States.

None of these criticisms is wholly false. Eleven years after the peace settlement many things are worse than they were in 1914, and some things are very much worse. Ten or even five years ago almost everything was worse. But all this may be freely admitted, without wishing the old order back. Could the peace treaties be redrafted today, in the light of this decade of experience, much in them might be made otherwise, but the broad principles on which they rest would be unaltered.

The treaties were only in part the work of those who called themselves

their authors. In a broader sense, the new map of Europe made itself; the treaties did little more than recognize and consecrate a great natural historical process. At a time when Western Europe had long since attained the comparative stability of the national State, the East was still organized on an entirely different basis. The Ottoman Empire held a dozen Christian nations under the yoke of a ruling caste of Asiatic warriors. The Habsburg Monarchy, no less supernational, combined a dozen other nations for mutual protection and for the protection of Europe. When the Turkish power decayed, the reason for Austria's existence vanished. The peace treaties of 1919 were only another step along the path which led past the liberation of Greece and Serbia; and the powers which had failed to arrest the decay of Turkey could not have prevented the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary had they willed.

Turkey has ceased to be a danger; and if it be true that Europe still needs a special defense for its exposed frontier, the burden of it must fall on Poland and Rumania, who are, in fact, united in a defensive alliance. For the rest, the future development of Southeastern Europe must be increasingly along lines common to the rest of the world. The tradition of the past, not the problems of the present and the future, is what distinguishes it today from its Western neighbors.

Hitherto the shadow of the past has laid heavy on the new States, and the first use which they made of their liberty was profoundly disappointing. A world which hailed the Balkan States as crusaders in 1912 has not forgotten the horrified surprise with which it

saw them rend one another and Macedonia in 1913. The idea that there were pickings to be had for the grabbing was as strong when Austria and Russia collapsed as when Turkey was defeated. Since the frontiers were, it was announced, to be delimited mainly on ethnographic lines, every nation felt and many yielded to the temptation to stake out a claim by occupying contested districts and "nationalizing" them by means which ranged from petty chicanery through oppression to the old atrocities (which were perpetrated along the frontiers of Albania).

The delimitation of exact national frontiers, the creation of uniform national States, was a task which the peace conference could not have solved, even if it had not been bound by old promises and secret treaties, or swayed by war psychology. A score of invading waves from Asia have ebbed, leaving odd pools and creeks of Oriental population throughout Eastern Europe; systematic defensive colonization has brought in as many elements from the West. Thus, in Bessarabia and the Dobruja the Rumanians and Bulgarians, who claim to be autochthonous, rub shoulders with Germans, French and Swiss colonists from the West, and Russians, Tartars, Circassians and Gaguaz from the East.

The descendants of the old immigrants and colonists, such as the Germans in almost all States of Southeastern Europe, the Armenians of Bulgaria or the Czech community in Vienna, are for the most part accustomed to the existence of a minority and disposed to make the best of their fate. It has been different with the principal victims of a war psychology which imposed an excessively severe settlement in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania, leaving large masses of Magyars or Bulgars immediately outside the new frontiers of their former States, and sharing with their old co-nationals a bitter and enduring resentment. This discontent, particularly in Bulgaria and Hungary, and among the Ruthenes of East Galicia, has proved the main source of political un-

rest in Southeastern Europe since the war.

No serious attempts have been made to alter the settlement by force of arms, except in the case of d'Annunzio's raid on Fiume. Vienna and Budapest, after the war, were full of conspirators and shadow Cabinets. The present writer knew personally the members of seven Ukrainian governments alone. None of these groups had, however, any real force behind it.

The two attempts by the ex-King Charles of Hungary to regain his throne in 1921 were regarded by Hungary's neighbors as designed to upset the *status quo*. Both of these adventures, however, ended almost as soon as they began; and Charles made no appeal to the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen to unite under him. The very rigid opposition of the Little Entente—formed expressly for the pur-



Map showing the countries of Southeastern Europe

pose and heavily armed—to any frontier revision has had its effect. The agitation has been strongest in Hungary; but even in that country it might possibly have died down had it not been revived by a most ill-timed newspaper campaign in England. This campaign has helped to keep relations between Hungary and her neighbors consistently unhappy. The Hungarian Government has not ranked itself with the extreme "revisionists"; but it has not lost occasions to express publicly the aspirations of the nation, and ill-feeling has been kept alive by a number of petty incidents for which both sides must share the blame.

No real rapprochement has proved possible between Hungary and any of her neighbors. Instead, she has ranked herself with Italy, and time has brought about a situation which resembles, too closely for comfort, the old balance of alliances among the great powers. Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria, with little Albania, are aligned against France's allies, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. Of the latter group, non-Slavonic Rumania coquettes at times with Italy. On the other hand, there are moments when Bulgaria seems to feel the call of the blood drawing her closer to Yugoslavia. Greece and Austria stand outside either group. Poland, who is the ally of Rumania and France, seems sympathetic to the Little Entente, now that she has settled her points of controversy with Czechoslovakia. The rivalry of these two groups and their efforts to draw in or detach the waverers form the chief undercurrent in international politics in South-eastern Europe today.

Austria has taken her troubles with much philosophy. There has been no serious attempt to recover lost frontiers. Many Austrians are heartily glad to see their connection with the Croats and Ruthenes severed once and for all and account the treaties something of a blessing in disguise. On the other hand, they maintain that the logical conclusion of releasing Austria from her mission as guardian of the East should be to allow her to reunite with

Germany, to which she belongs nationally and spiritually. The enthusiasm for immediate union which wells up from time to time is usually directed with comparative ease, but there can be no doubt of the underlying strength of the movement.

Bulgaria is less resigned. She is in a peculiar and unhappy position, owing to the large numbers of émigrés from Thrace and Macedonia who now live within her frontiers. The influence of these émigrés is the determining factor in Bulgarian politics. The I. M. R. O. (the revolutionary Macedonian organization) has only one ambition: to wrest Macedonia from Yugoslavia. The fact that this organization both advocates and freely practices assassination as an instrument of policy makes it peculiarly dangerous, especially since the object for which it works commands the sympathies of most Bulgarians. Any government which openly discountenances the I. M. R. O. risks losing not only national sympathy but life itself. In 1923 the peasant Premier, Stambulinsky, who had tried to effect a rapprochement with Yugoslavia at the expense of Macedonian ambitions, was brutally murdered. For some years after this, the I. M. R. O. was the main power in Bulgarian politics. It manipulated the Cabinet as it wished, kept Macedonia in continuous turmoil and fostered hatred between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. At last Bulgaria awoke to a suspicion that the game, under present conditions, was not worth the candle. The organization itself, moreover, split into rival groups, which murdered one another with undiminished gusto and all the artistry of long experience. Its power therefore declined. But just as feeling was growing more moderate in Bulgaria, the present dictatorship, with its violently militarist and nationalist tendencies, was established in Belgrade. Thus a real Balkan rapprochement has yet to come.

The active movement in favor of frontier revision has gradually died down, as might be expected, while the situation of some of the new frontiers has further been stabilized by the guar-



antees given by Germany at Locarno and by the powers guaranteeing Austria's international loan. The revolutionary figures who took the stage at the end of the war have, moreover, been largely replaced by more experienced politicians with a trained sense of actual political possibilities. The *détente* in this respect has, however, been accompanied by an increasingly energetic demand for a more conscientious application of the minority treaties under the League of Nations.

All the countries of Southeastern Europe were required under the treaties to accept certain stipulations guaranteeing the members of racial, linguistic or religious minorities within their frontiers what amounted to equivalent treatment with the majority in regard to elementary cultural and political rights. Observance of these treaties should safeguard a minority against forcible denationalization. These treaties have, however, been honored only in a very half-hearted fashion. In certain districts attempts have been made to assimilate a minority by methods of greater or less violence. Thus the Yugoslav authorities have denied the claim of the Bulgaro-feeling Macedonians to constitute a minority. The Macedonians are treated as Serbs, and any manifestation of pro-Bulgarian feeling, any use of the Bulgarian language or religious rites, has entailed severe punishment. Further north, in Slovenia, Germans bearing Slavonic names have similarly been denied the right to enjoy even such small minority rights as recent Yugoslav legislation has allowed to survive. The same appeal to distant racial origins has been used in Rumania and elsewhere. None of the States bound by the treaties have, however, carried through their policy of denationalization so ruthlessly as has Italy in her new territories of Slovenia and the Alto Adige.

Even where the existence of a minority is admitted, attempts are often made to undermine its position in a score of ways. Minority schools are closed down on the slightest pretext. Electoral divisions are so arranged as

to deprive the minority of representation; in the agrarian reforms carried through at the close of the war by Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, the members of the majority populations got the lion's share of the benefits.

The failure of the States which profited so considerably under the peace treaties to fulfill their corresponding obligations in honorable fashion has had a very unfortunate effect. Of the principal gainers, only Czechoslovakia has come to reasonable terms with her largest minority, the Germans. On the other hand, her treatment of her Magyar subjects is still questionable, and she has done next to nothing to honor the specific conditions under which Carpatho-Russia was assigned to her. Rumania's record was until recently worse still, but a great improvement has taken place since the advent to power of the National Peasant party. Greece has taken practically no steps at all to meet her obligations, and although the dictators of Yugoslavia have worked out agreeable statutes on paper, their practice has been one of repression.

Naturally, it is the States whose frontiers were enlarged by the treaties which have had to face the most difficult minority problems. The same States, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in particular, have been confronted with a serious difficulty in reconciling diverse elements within the majority population itself. In the former State the Slovaks, racially and linguistically closely related to the Czechs, but economically weaker and distinguished by a thousand years of separate history, have complained rather bitterly of unequal treatment and exploitation by the stronger partner in the State. Hungary has naturally made the most of this tension to agitate for a revision of the treaty. The Czechs, in return, have been inclined to treat justified Slovak complaints as high treason against the State. The problem, however, although not yet solved, seems to have grown less acute recently, and no longer presents a danger to European stability.

In Rumania the parallel problem has never been equally serious, although there have been considerable divergences of attitude between the inhabitants of the Regat (the old kingdom) and the newly acquired provinces. Here again there has been a great improvement recently. The National Peasant party has introduced measures of devolution which will go far to remedy the evils of the rigid system of centralization in Bucharest which caused such deep discontent during the Liberals' tenure of power. In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the problem is perhaps further from solution today than it has been since the creation of the State.

Two conflicting tendencies have been at work in Yugoslavia since 1918—the Yugoslav movement proper, which aimed at an equal close federation of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with due regard to local history, conditions and circumstances, and the Pan-Serb conception, which aimed simply at establishing a Serbian hegemony over the other partners in the State. At almost all times since the birth of Yugoslavia the latter tendency has prevailed. The Slovenes have cooperated not inimically with the Serbs, but the Croats, deprived of what they regarded as their just dues, have adopted an unfortunately obstructive and unstable policy. There have been times when Yugoslavia has seemed near dissolution. In the Autumn of 1928 matters reached a climax with the murder of Raditch, the Croat leader, in the Belgrade Parliament. The parliamentary system having failed to make for either stability or unity, the King proclaimed a dictatorship, which was at first rather widely welcomed. Although King Alexander has reformed a few abuses he has rested his power on a corrupt and despotic military clique, and the situation today is, on the whole, worse than a year ago. Of all countries in Southeastern Europe, Yugoslavia has missed the most opportunities; her great problem is still far from solution.

In most countries the national problem today attracts more attention than the social. This was not the case in the

period immediately after the World War. Each of the national revolutions which had established the new States had been at the same time a social revolution. And in the period of distress and exhaustion which followed the war the social conflicts were very acute in nearly every country. They were most violent in Hungary, where an extreme revolutionary movement was able for a while to sail under national colors.

A Communist dictatorship in 1919 was preserved in Hungary largely by the attacks against it from abroad. When Bela Kun's régime fell it was succeeded by an extreme reactionary movement, which annulled all measures taken by the Communists or by the Social Democrats who had preceded them. The tendencies of the reaction have grown less extreme with time, but many reforms in Hungary are long overdue, particularly in the agrarian field, where much less has been done than in neighboring States toward a more equitable distribution of land.

In Czechoslovakia the movement to the Left was less violent, and the reaction also less pronounced. A moderate Conservative Government is now in power. Much of the legislation passed by earlier Socialist governments remains on the statute book.

The evolution in Austria has been rather similar, but here the forces of socialism and conservatism have been so equally balanced as to create something like a deadlock, and the opposing parties, in their bitterness, went so far as to create private armies. The country was not far from civil war a few months ago, but, under the firm hand of Schober, the present Chancellor, matters have greatly improved.

In Rumania a Conservative Government carried through an agrarian reform, and, having thus satisfied the main need of the country, held office until eighteen months ago. Thus the swing of the pendulum came unusually late, and Rumania is only now experiencing her first government—a very moderate one—of the Left.

Bulgaria's progress has been on more normal lines, but her revolutionary

movement took the form of a peasant dictatorship which was half Communist in some respects, violently anti-Communist in others. In 1923 came a revolution from the Right and a strong reaction, which had to deal with a correspondingly violent revolutionary movement. Since 1926 her Conservative Government has gradually moderated.

In Yugoslavia alone all governments have been Conservative. In Greece politics is mainly a personal issue and has revolved largely round the constitutional question. Albania's politics is altogether primitive.

Socially, then, all the countries of Southeastern Europe seem to be tending toward a more settled political system, in which agricultural interests predominate. Only in Austria, and to a less extent in Czechoslovakia, is labor able to make its voice heard.

The farouche nationalism of the first years found its expression not only in political hostility and the oppression of minorities but also in an economic self-sufficiency which has multiplied trade barriers and has certainly set back the economic life of Southeastern Europe a long way. This economic nationalism perhaps impresses the foreigner more deeply, because it affects him more nearly, than the political, of which, however, it is only a secondary aspect. Immediately after the war governments strained every nerve to make all interstate intercourses as difficult and burdensome as possible. The most extreme instance which the writer remembers was on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier, which travelers by trains other than the international expresses had to cross on foot, as neither country would allow its locomotives to enter the territory of the other, in the well-founded fear that it might never see them back. Even in civilized Austria and Czechoslovakia, the difficulties in the way of movement, either of persons or of goods, were such as had to be experienced to be realized. The primary motive behind this was, however, political. It was dictated by a fear that the old economic routes and relations might bring about a restoration of the old

political system. Partly, also, it was due to the frightful shortage of all commodities in Europe at that time.

In all this a vast change has already taken place—a change ardently desired by most of the peoples, but for which, among governments, the Czech and Austrian deserve the greatest credit. The new Rumanian Government has also done well in this respect; the Liberal Government, which it succeeded, was, on the other hand, the very champion and prototype of economic nationalism and brought its country to the verge of bankruptcy through it. There is already a not inconsiderable network of commercial treaties in Southeastern Europe, and in quite recent times economic interests in countries which are politically unfriendly have begun to combine, such as the wheat-growers of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary. Vienna has kept its place as the financial and banking centre of the Danube Valley, despite the challenge of Prague. If Austria has lost ground industrially, it is mainly to Germany. The essential economic problem of Southeastern Europe, however, remains unsolved.

The successor States of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire can live neither together nor apart. Poland is an exception. Maria Theresa accepted Galicia with tears, and the province always lived a life apart. With the collapse of Austria, it returned quite naturally to Northern Europe, and it is difficult to remember today that its affiliations ever extended across the Carpathians. The remainder, however, hang together; but their close cooperation is hampered by the fact that the political situation still remains abnormal. The destiny of Austria is yet unsettled. A treaty obligation vetoes her union with Germany, but nature is apt to prove stronger than paper. Hungary is still unreconciled to her diminished frontiers. In another direction the complete isolation of Russia distorts the normal economic development of Rumania, and to a lesser extent also of Bulgaria. Nor have the passions born of the war altogether died away.

LONDON, March, 1930.

## *The World-Wide Campaign Against Mental Diseases*

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

WITH THE PREDICTION that in forty years from now there will be nearly a million mental patients in the United States alone, psychologists, psychiatrists and mental hygienists have begun to attack the problem on a world-wide scale for the first time since the mental hygiene movement was started by Clifford W. Beers some twenty years ago, when he published *A Mind That Found Itself*. When the First International Congress of Mental Hygiene met in Washington recently, it marked an important step forward in the struggle to check the growth of this menace to man's happiness. Specialists in mental disease and mental hygiene came from all over the world.

"Approximately one-half of all the hospital beds in the United States are for mental cases, and the last survey of the hospital situation showed that the beds for mental cases were increasing more rapidly than all other classes put together," Dr. William A. White, Superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, and president of the congress has observed. "The number of patients in hospitals for mental diseases in 1970, based upon the standards which are at present operative, will be, in round numbers, 950,000. What this figure means can be more easily understood if we realize that in 1880 the number of patients per 100,000 of the general population who were in such hospitals was 63; whereas the 1970 figure will represent 635 per 100,000. This means, of course, a tremendous burden, not only economic but in various other ways, upon the rest of the population and particularly upon the immediate family."

Dr. White believes "that mental

hygiene in some of its aspects will become, as a necessary result, a part of the regular curriculum of medical schools and probably of academic courses; that physicians will recognize the psychological factor in disease much more fully; that general hospitals will have wards, as they are already beginning to, for the reception and care of acute mental illnesses; that the educational system will be much more keenly alert than it is at present to determine the existence among the student body of potential mental disorder; that great executives will become conscious of the part it plays in creating the lost motion in their organizations; and that in all these ways it will be more frequently and effectively identified. It is necessarily to be believed, in conjunction with these developments, that an improved, a more adequate therapeutics will grow up alongside of this increasing number of patients and that we shall continue to find, as we already do, that a very material percentage of liabilities can be converted into assets."

"Aside from all of these developments, which are not difficult to foresee, however," Dr. White adds, "one must believe that the future of mental disorders, even the immediate future—the next twenty-five years—will show a very radical change of attitude on the part of the people at large and of the medical profession in particular, toward mental diseases. Along with a broader knowledge of their significance and a better understanding of their meaning there will be a greater tolerance for some of their symptoms. There will be less inclination to resent, hate and punish the offender. And society will necessarily come to the realization



that mental disease is only an exaggerated form of maladaptation, which is only another way of saying, by the use of a sociological term, unhappiness. People will realize that the mental mechanisms involved are the same and that all the various forms of mental disorder, social inefficiency and personal unhappiness must become the subject not of criticism and resentment but of scientific study, with a view to their correction or improvement; that they are as worthy of such study as are the diseases of the body, and, as a matter of fact, from the point of view of the most valuable of man's possessions—his mind—they are more worthy and more important. Society will also have to realize that all of these troubles of the mind are one of the prices it has to pay for civilization, and inasmuch as it will not throw away civilization, and could not if it would, it will get down to the concrete problem of an attempt at as great an understanding of man by himself as he has hitherto gained of his environment."

#### POWERFUL NEW MICROSCOPES

A powerful new weapon of research, a microscope that can dissect a cell photographically while it is still alive without cutting it or even touching it, has been developed by Francis F. Lucas of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, New York. Employing invisible ultraviolet rays of a single wave length and using photographic plates instead of the human eye, Mr. Lucas is able to section optically living normal and malignant cells at very high magnifications and with a degree of precision never heretofore achieved. The average living cell is about one three-thousandth of an inch in diameter. With his new invention Mr. Lucas can "slice" such a cell into sections spaced about one one-hundred-thousandth of an inch apart and photograph each section without materially interfering with the normal behavior of the cell. In the average cell thirty or more photographs may be taken on uniformly spaced optical planes. The whole architecture of the living contents can be pictured at

magnifications as high as 5,000 diameters.

A microscope fitted to a high-speed centrifuge, making it possible to watch living cells as they are whirled about at a speed of from 2,000 to 3,000 revolutions a minute, is another powerful new weapon of biological research. It was reported to the National Academy of Sciences by Professor E. Newton Harvey of Princeton University and Alfred L. Loomis, banker-scientist, of Tuxedo Park, N. Y. The instrument, constructed in the private laboratory of Mr. Loomis, consists of a rapidly rotating frame on which a glass slide, bearing the cell to be studied, can be mounted. As the frame whirls, the various parts of the cell's living contents are thrown toward the outside by centrifugal force, on the same principle that the outside passenger in a car is squeezed against the side when the vehicle rounds a sharp turn. Traveling with the microscope slide is the powerfully magnifying object-lens of a microscope, so placed that it can be kept in focus on the cell under observation. By means of two reflecting prisms the image it forms is reflected out through an eyepiece placed directly over the centre of the instrument. Through the latter lens the observer watches the course of events in the whirling cell beneath.

Light to illuminate the experiment is supplied from a new type of mercury vapor lamp, the invention of Mr. Loomis. It is so constructed that it can be flashed on and then off again in so small a fraction of a second that it can hardly be called time at all; yet it gives full illumination while it is turned on. This intermittent illumination is necessary, because if there were light shining on the cell all the time the image under the eyepiece would be nothing but a spinning blur. But by catching it at just one point in its circuit at each revolution, the series of instantaneous flashes string themselves together like the intermittent flashes of the motion picture on the screen and appear to the observer as a steady, stationary picture. So steady is the image, Professor

Harvey reported, that perfectly clear photographs have been made, as though an ordinary microscope were in use.

#### IMPROVED AIRPLANE MOTORS

Among the latest developments in science reported at the annual Spring meeting of the National Academy of Sciences was one of great importance to aviation. Dr. Joseph S. Ames, president of Johns Hopkins University and chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, expressed the belief that tri-motored airplanes will fly just as fast on one motor as they do now on three when designers learn how to make machines so that the flow of air around them is smooth and free from eddies. Careful estimates prove that if all the parts of the machine were designed so that the flow of air around it were smooth and free the airplane could maintain its speed with roughly only one-third the power ordinarily used. This fact points to the possibility and need of reducing drag by the proper design. Dr. Ames pointed out that the drag of the different parts of a plane like the wings, engine and fuselage can be studied separately in wind tunnels now in existence. The drag of the machine as a whole, however, may be twice as great as the sum of the drag of its parts, owing to distortion of flow when the parts are combined. "This additional drag, called interference drag, can be studied only by placing the entire airplane in the throat of a wind tunnel," Dr. Ames said. "There is not in existence at the present time a tunnel of sufficient size to hold a modern airplane, but one is under construction by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics at its laboratory at Langley Field, Va. Fortunately this laboratory now has in operation a tunnel having an open throat 20 feet in diameter, which is the largest in the world. This is provided with engines sufficient to produce an airstream having a velocity in excess of 100 miles per hour." The N. A. C. A. cowling for standard air-cooled engines results in an increase of speed of ap-

proximately 20 miles an hour for the ordinary commercial airplane, and it is the direct result of wind tunnel investigation.

#### EXPERIMENTS IN HEARING

The nerve of hearing carries the impulses it receives when stimulated as a minute fluctuating electric current, very similar to the current in a telephone circuit. So much alike are they that a telephone receiver can be "hooked up" with the auditory nerve, and the current, after amplification by means of vacuum tubes, will reproduce sounds received by the ear. This is the discovery of Ernest Glen Wever and Charles W. Bray of the psychological laboratory of Princeton University. They inserted an electrode in the auditory nerve of a cat, grounded the other end of the circuit elsewhere on the animal's body, and, after amplifying the current, "listened in" with a telephone receiver. Sound stimuli applied to the ear of the animal were reproduced in the receiver with great fidelity. Speech is easily understandable. Simple tones, as from tuning forks, are received at frequencies which, so far as the observer can determine by ear, are identical with the original. Sounds of wave frequencies as high as 3,300 per second, approximately the top of the violin range, were audible.

#### MENTAL EFFORT AND FATIGUE

One oyster cracker or one-half a salted peanut gives enough extra calories for one hour of intense mental effort, Dr. Francis G. Benedict, director of the Nutrition Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution, Boston, reported to the National Academy of Sciences. With his wife, Mrs. Cornelia Golay Benedict, this scientist has studied the effects of mental effort on the energy requirements of the body. The popular tradition that fish is a brain food has given way to the idea that mental effort demands calories. "It is the experience of nearly every one that intense, sustained mental effort results in a feeling of profound fatigue, not only in mind but likewise in the entire

body," Dr. Benedict said. "The disposition to seek instinctively fresh air, to open a window and to stretch the limbs after a period of mental work is pronounced. When one considers the sense of extreme, almost overpowering fatigue in both mind and body following a sustained mental effort, it is surprising that there is such an insignificant effect upon the general metabolism or level of vital activity. The professor absorbed in intense mental effort for one hour has an extra demand for food or for calories during the entire hour not greater than the extra needs of the maid who dusts off his desk for five minutes."

#### NEW VIEW OF THE UNIVERSE

A new picture of the universe, more modern than those painted by de Sitter and Einstein, was exhibited in the form of mathematical symbols in a report to the National Academy of Sciences by Dr. Richard C. Tolman of the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. Dr. Tolman bases his new explanation of the universe on today's idea of the way matter and radiation are distributed in space and time. This leads to an explanation of the mysterious shift of light toward the red that is observed by astronomers in the light from distant nebulae. These great light patches of the sky are now thought to be other universes of stars at great distances from our own Milky Way galaxy, in which the sun is a minor star. One such nebula is rushing away from the earth at the rate of 7,200 miles per second, if, as some scientists have previously thought, the red shift of the light is due to appalling differences of speed. Although built on the theory of relativity, Dr. Tolman's idea of the universe differs from that of Einstein in such a way as to conform to the contemporary opinion of astrophysicists that the universe is actually filled with matter changing into radiation. Einstein assumed a static universe permanently filled with a constant distribution of matter. De Sitter's universe was permanently empty. Dr. Tolman's universe is non-static, and in it matter is

dissipating on the average as astronomers find that it must dissipate in order to account for the luminosity of early type stars that are more vigorously radiating than our sun. If Dr. Tolman's conception of the way the universe is put together and operating receives further support from later theory and observations, he will have explained a modern scientific puzzle, the reddening of light from the far reaches of the universe. His conceptions also promise to reopen the question of whether the universe is running down or whether the conversion of matter into radiation progressing in the stars is compensated by a rebirth of matter elsewhere in the universe.

#### MACHINE-MADE WROUGHT IRON

The man-powered puddling process of making wrought iron—the method used almost exclusively for the past hundred years of producing this tough, rust-resisting metal—is now giving way to the ingenuity of man and machine. Dr. James Aston of the Carnegie Institute of Technology of Pittsburgh has found a way to make wrought iron in large quantities with machinery, and his method is being applied commercially in the manufacture of pipe. For years the production of wrought iron exceeded that of steel. Then came the Bessemer process, and steel could be made so cheaply that it quickly replaced wrought iron for practically all purposes. Men had to make wrought iron by hand, slowly "puddle" it in a small reverberatory furnace. Metallurgists tried in vain to find a commercially successful mechanical method. Then Dr. Aston began to experiment in a mill at Warren, Ohio. And the Bureau of Standards has found that his product equals wrought iron in practically every respect, although it is made by an entirely different process. Dr. Aston's wrought iron gets its fibrous slag structure by the pouring of Bessemer purified pig iron into molten slag made in an open hearth furnace. Excess slag is squeezed out by a hydraulic press.

## *Aerial Events of the Month*

**A**FTER SEVERAL MONTHS' experimentation with gliders on the West Coast, Colonel Lindbergh returned to the East, and in his old, spectacular fashion. The transcontinental flight, on which he was accompanied by Mrs. Lindbergh, was, he said, "purely an experimental flight," to determine whether passenger plane service could be conducted at a greater speed at high altitudes, where thin air offered less resistance to the progress of the plane.

The flight on April 20 was made at altitudes varying from 14,000 to 15,500 feet. Mrs. Lindbergh was co-pilot and navigator, directing the Colonel's course by observations taken with a sextant, since the flying was too high for ground observations. Although Colonel Lindbergh claims that he did not break the transcontinental speed record made by Frank Hawks in a non-stop flight last June, his record, including a twenty-minute stop at Wichita, Kan., was 14 hours, 45 minutes and 32 seconds, nearly three hours less than the previous record. Colonel Lindbergh flew his Lockheed Sirius plane the 2,700 miles from Los Angeles to Roosevelt Field, New York, at an average speed of 180 miles an hour. Attempts to measure exactly the altitude and time of his flight were thwarted when it was found that the extreme speed of the plane had broken the barograph.

Having crossed the continent in a day, Colonel Lindbergh took off again from Roosevelt Field on April 24 to inaugurate the seven-day air mail from Miami to Buenos Aires. On April 26 he flew the first leg of this flight from Miami to Havana in 2 hours, 3 minutes. The next day he flew from Havana to Cristobal, Canal Zone, making a refueling stop at Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. This trip cut across the original Pan-American Airways route inaugurated by Colonel Lindbergh when he flew from Havana to British Honduras, and then south. He made the 1,033 miles to

Cristobal in 9 hours, 58 minutes. From Panama the mail was taken the rest of the journey to Buenos Aires by another pilot, while Lindbergh waited at Cristobal to bring the return mail back. Colonel Lindbergh started his return trip on May 1 to reach New York on May 3.

The remaining members of the Byrd expedition, including Admiral Byrd himself, left Wellington, N. Z., for Panama on April 26. Ten of the expedition reached New York during April. Two cameramen arrived April 9, and eight other men on April 26.

In preparation for a proposed transatlantic flight in the late Spring, the Graf Zeppelin made trips during April, one to Seville, Spain, where she landed on April 16, and one to Cardington, England, where she landed on April 26, and took off again the same day on her return flight. The visit was the first made to England by a Zeppelin since the days of the war, and was hailed as a significant move forward in the relations between Great Britain and Germany. Captain Eckener was in England during the flight negotiating with the British Air Ministry for an "airship truce" between Great Britain and Germany, involving an exchange of aerial information. It is unofficially reported that these negotiations were satisfactorily concluded.

Captain Frank Hawks's transcontinental glider trip ended safely on April 7, after he had been towed six and one-half days from Los Angeles. An unofficial glider endurance record was set at San Diego, Cal., by Jack Barstow, who soared in the air for 15 hours 13 minutes. The death took place in Germany on April 16 of Johannes Nehring, one of the pioneers of gliding, in a crash while conducting meteorological investigations.

An international conference was held in Berlin at the end of April to study aviation lighting and the adoption of uniform practices in the lighting of airways and airports.



# India in Turmoil

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

**V**IOLENT REBELLION against the authority of Great Britain in India, held in check, although not suppressed, by military force, on May 5 brought to its first climax the campaign of "civil disobedience" launched almost exactly one month previously by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. The arrest of the nationalist leader on that day brought both sides in the Indian conflict face to face in the positions that their previous utterances and actions had made seemingly inevitable. A week later the outcome of the situation still hung in the balance, but the expected nation-wide upheaval following Gandhi's arrest had not occurred. With the exception of serious rioting at Sholapur on May 8, which began with attempts by the natives to cut down toddy palm trees in accordance with Gandhi's anti-liquor campaign, there was little lasting disturbance. May 10, which was the seventy-third anniversary of the Sepoy mutiny and also a Moslem festival, passed comparatively quietly, although outbreaks had been expected. In the military sense Great Britain retained control of the situation. The political outcome could not be foreseen. Meanwhile, in London the Labor Government stood squarely behind the Viceroy, with the Simon Commission laboring to produce the report on conditions in India which is being prepared as a basis for the reasonable discussion of the future of that country and with the British appeal to India to settle her problems at a round-table conference rather than by force still holding good.

During the month that preceded the arrest of Gandhi the ferment of revolution had disrupted Indian life from Bombay to Calcutta, and from Ceylon to the northwest frontier. The campaign of "civil disobedience" had been

actively launched on April 6. Thousands of agents of the National Congress had systematically expressed their contempt for the government of the land by the manufacture and distribution of salt in ostentatious violation of law, and by preaching sedition against the sovereign authority. Scores of riots in widely separated regions, involving the loss of several hundred lives, heavy destruction of property, and complete dislocation of business had occurred. Hundreds of members of the congress, including its president, had been arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. Legal steps had been taken to curb the seditious activities of the native press. Yet, for one month, Mahatma Gandhi, the "holy man" whose personality was the soul and spirit of revolution, was unmolested and continued to inspire and direct the desperate effort of radical Hinduism to destroy British authority in India rather than to take its claims, along with those of the other communities in the peninsula, before the conference called to decide what should be the next step in Indian progress.

The first symbolic salt making at the obscure little hamlet of Dandi on the Arabian Sea has been vividly described by the correspondent of the London *Times*:

Mr. Gandhi, wearing a loin-cloth, plunged into the sea, which is almost lukewarm here, and enjoyed a swim. After a few minutes he came out and, accompanied by his lieutenants, walked along the firm sand at the water's edge. Punctually at the half hour ("the appointed time for beginning civil disobedience throughout India") his companions advised him of the fact. Mr. Gandhi stooped down, scooped up a handful of sand and salt water, and returned to the bungalow with a broad smile on his face.

The great deed was done, at least from

the technical point of view, for he had "collected salt" within the meaning of the salt tax act.

Immediately after violating the salt monopoly, Mr. Gandhi issued a statement to the press in which he declared that a boycott of foreign cloth and a campaign against liquor would also be undertaken. His statement, in part, read:

My advice is that workers should everywhere manufacture salt and, where they know how, prepare and clean it and use it and instruct the villagers to do likewise. At the same time the villager should be told that he runs the risk of prosecution. In other words, the villagers should be fully instructed as regards the salt law and the manner of breaking the regulations connected with it, so as to have the salt tax repealed. It should be made clear to the villagers that the breach is open and that such conduct is in no way stealthy.

They may help themselves to salt manufactured through nature in creeks and pits near the seashore, use it themselves or for their cattle and sell it to those who will buy, it being well understood that all such people are breaking the salt law and risking prosecution or being subjected by the so-called salt officers to harassment.

This war against the salt tax should be continued during "National Week," that is, up to April 13. Those engaged in this sacred work should devote themselves to vigorous propaganda for a boycott against foreign cloth and the prohibition of liquor.

Apparently, as the result of well-organized pre-arrangement, Gandhi's violation of the law was duplicated by agents of the congress in many parts of India. At inland points natural deposits of salt were utilized or salt water was brought great distances from the sea. In one city salt was "planted" in order that it might be utilized in the campaign. Packets of the contraband product were publicly sold, that first made by the Mahatma bringing about \$150. Great parades and other demonstrations were held.

The government had also planned its course. Gandhi himself was unmolested. Other salt makers and numerous leaders who incited crowds to violate the law were arrested in large numbers, tried and sentenced to widely varying fines and prison terms. Among their

number were two of the leader's sons and many of his chief lieutenants, who were taken at widely separated points. The police also confiscated the illegal salt, in many instances taking it forcibly from its possessors.

Gandhi's reaction to the latter measure was expressed on April 8 in a speech made to his followers at Aat, a village adjacent to Dandi. The "holy man" there exhorted the faithful to

resist the confiscation of salt from your grips with all your might till blood is spilt. All women and children should also resist interference. Let us see whether the police dare touch our women. If they do, and if the sons and daughters of India are not so emasculated as to take such an insult lying down, the whole country will be ablaze.

This is the first non-violent battle for India's freedom. The name of Aat will be written in letters of gold in Indian history. Let every woman of India hold on to her lump of illicit salt as she would to a fond child who is being wrenched from her by evildoers.

On the following day the Mahatma commended the volunteers for their cheerful spirit, and expressed the hope that they would be as cheerful when their comrades lay dead and dying. At the same time he directed that in no circumstances should violence be used. Even scratching the hands of the police was prohibited.

Toward the end of "National Week" the agents of the congress and the forces of the law began to come into violent conflict. On April 11 a serious riot occurred outside the Bombay Court in which prominent Hindus were sentenced for breaches of the salt regulations. Twenty-two persons were injured. On the same day fifteen people were injured when Calcutta police broke up a meeting of students, who gathered in College Square to read aloud from books prohibited by the government as seditious. Riots also occurred at other points, some of them arising partially out of railway and mine strikes. The week was brought to a close by additional demonstrations in all parts of India, that in Bombay being said to have involved hundreds of thousands of people. At the same

time the native Indian press embarked upon an unrestrained campaign of sedition. During this initial period of the "revolution" the Indian Government was under fire from a large part of the Anglo-Indian community for permitting the leader of the rebellion to continue his activities.

The general populace had not so far joined in the civil disobedience campaign, and except in the Gujarat district, there were no signs of the general mass of the public joining the Gandhi volunteers. Only isolated cases of hostility to Europeans occurred. "Always provided that he did not open a newspaper," one correspondent reported, "it would be possible for a traveler to journey from Bombay across to Calcutta or north to Delhi without realizing that anything was wrong." Nor was there any sign of disaffection among the Indian troops, while the police, subject to terrific propaganda on the one hand and to physical strain on the other, "never behaved with greater tact, forbearance and devotion to duty."

From April 13 on the course of events was marked by ever more serious violence and by a gradual stiffening of the attitude and measures of the government. On April 14 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the president of the Congress, was arrested for abetting the manufacture of contraband salt and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. He was succeeded as acting president by his father, Pandit Motilal Nehru. The son, who is also president of the Youth Movement organization in India, is generally regarded as being the most powerful individual among the extremist wing of the Congress. He is credited with having personally influenced his colleagues, including Gandhi, to turn their backs upon the round-table conference offered by Britain late in 1929 and to choose instead the course of active resistance to British authority.

After Nehru's arrest the revolutionary ferment produced violent outbreaks of serious dimensions at five important Indian centres. In Calcutta on April 15 a mob of many thousands burned

street cars, killed and injured members of the fire brigade called to quench the flames, stoned and beat an Englishwoman and numerous other Europeans, and fought with the police for hours. Casualties were heavy and the entire city was terrorized. On the following day at Karachi, the terminus of the England-India airline on the opposite side of the peninsula, police fired upon a mob of 10,000 that surrounded and threatened the court house, where congress leaders were being tried. One man was killed, many were injured, and the government health laboratory, with apparatus valued at thousands of dollars, was destroyed. At Poona police were stoned.

On April 19 a large body of armed men swooped down on Chittagong, a river port in Bengal, killed seven men, looted the police armory and telephone building, and escaped to the hills with a considerable quantity of arms. On April 22, in distant Madras, a mob of 50,000 Nationalists was dispersed by troops after police had been unable to withstand an attack by stones and other missiles. A week later troops fired upon the Madras mob, killing two, in an affray in which many members of both sides were injured.

A still more serious outbreak occurred on April 23 at Peshawur. This ancient city of the Northern Punjab is the last important centre south of the turbulent northwest frontier. Aroused by Congress propaganda, a mob of its Hindu inhabitants attacked two patrolling armored cars. One of them was drenched with gasoline and its crew of two men burned to death. In another part of the city a police sergeant was hacked to death with a hatchet. Gurkha troops quelled the revolt with machine-gun fire. The official report announced the dead as numbering twenty. Nationalist statements declared that sixty-five had been killed. The British garrison immediately took precautions to protect the city from the hostile tribesmen, who were reported to be advancing to loot it during the British-Indian disturbance. Women and children were at once evacuated from the city. Another

significant event was a subsequent announcement by the government that the conduct of two platoons of Hindu troops used during the riots had been "unsatisfactory" and that they had been withdrawn from the district. In view of the fact that there are only 70,000 British troops in the entire Indian peninsula, the attitude of the native units in the Indian Army is obviously a matter of paramount importance.

Three weeks after he had initiated the defiance of the government through violation of the salt laws, Gandhi issued a statement embodying the aims of his movement and giving his interpretation of what had happened. His opening paragraph seems hardly to be in consonance with the avowed aims of the Congress, but the statement is quoted as given to the press:

The national demand is not for the immediate establishment of independence, but as a preliminary step to a conference that must take place if independence is to be established peacefully and to remove certain prime grievances, chiefly economic and moral.

Those grievances include the salt tax, which in its incidence falls with equal pressure upon the rich as well as poor, and is over 1,000 per cent of the cost price, having been made a monopoly. It has deprived tens of thousands of people of their supplementary occupation and the artificially heavy cost of salt has made it very difficult, if not impossible, for poor people to give enough salt to their cattle and to their land.

This unnatural monopoly is sustained by laws which are only so called, but which are a denial of law. They give arbitrary powers to police known to be corrupt to lay their hands without warrant on innocent people, to confiscate their property and otherwise molest them in a hundred ways.

Civil resistance against the salt laws has caught the popular imagination as nothing else has within my experience. Hundreds of thousands of people, including women and children from many villages, have participated in the open manufacture and sale of contraband salt. This resistance has been answered by barbarous and unmanly repression. Instead of arresting people, the authorities have violated the persons of people who have refused to part with salt, held generally in their fists.

To open their fists their knuckles have

been broken, their necks have been pressed, they have been even indecently assaulted until they have been rendered senseless. Some of these assaults have taken place in the presence of hundreds and thousands of people, who, although well able to protect the victims and retaliate, have not done so, being under a pledge of non-violence.

After referring to the major disorders at Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong and Peshawar, the Mahatma further declared:

The people in other parts have remained non-violent in spite of great provocation. At the same time, I admit that there is need for caution, but I can say without the least hesitation, that consistently with the plan of civil disobedience, every precaution conceivable is being taken to prevent civil disobedience from being used as an occasion for doing violence.

On the day after the issuance of this statement, April 26, Gandhi was reported to have announced a move apparently calculated to force more definite action by the government. He was said to have called for 100,000 volunteers to seize the privately owned but State-controlled salt pans at Dharsana, near Bombay, and in other ways to carry forward his campaign of civil disobedience. In Bombay a procession a mile long marched through the streets crying, "The government is dead! The salt law has been broken!"

British rule, however, was not yet extinct. On the following day the Viceroy made the most important move from the government side since the outbreak of the revolt. Reviving an earlier law providing for such emergencies, he proclaimed regulations which established a rigid censorship over the press. "Civil disobedience, whatever may have been the professed aim of those who launched it," Lord Irwin declared, "is rapidly developing, as all reasonable men foresaw, into violent resistance to the constituted authority." The serious outbreaks which had occurred showed clearly that "the spirit of revolution, fostered by civil disobedience, is now beginning to emerge in a dangerous form. Nothing at present is operating so powerfully to promote that spirit as



the writings of the Indian press. A certain section is bent on promoting the spirit of revolution and stirring up hatred for the government. \* \* \* The civil disobedience movement makes it necessary to approach the problem no longer as a general policy but as one constituting a grave national emergency." The operation of the regulations caused the suspension of virtually all the native newspapers.

The Viceroy also set forth the government's attitude toward the congress movement in accepting the resignation of V. J. Patel as President of the Legislative Assembly. After expressing regret at the resignation, he concluded his letter to Mr. Patel by hoping "that you and those with whom you are once again to be openly associated may come to realize how grave a wrong you do India by rejecting the way of peace that lies open through a free conference with his Majesty's Government in order to encourage your countrymen to deliberate and dangerous defiance of law."

On May 3 both houses of the National Legislature, the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly, were prorogued. Unless specially convened, they will not meet again until after the general elections, which are scheduled to be held at the end of this year.

While the campaign of civil disobedience was proceeding to a climax increasing evidence appeared that thus far, at least, the movement was confined pretty definitely to the radical element of the National Congress and other Hindus of the illiterate masses who could be reached by Gandhi's potent propaganda. The hostility of the Moslem community to the congress—a feeling based upon fear of Hindu domination—was unequivocally expressed by the Mohammedan leaders during an All-Indian Moslem conference on the affairs of Palestine. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, Moslem leaders who were with Gandhi in his first campaign, nine years ago, characterized the present

movement as ill-advised and ill-timed and urged their coreligionists to keep clear of it.

While the Moslems were thus declaring themselves opposed to the ultimatum that the congress extremists had presented to Great Britain and the other communities in India, the Liberal Federation, an important party composed chiefly of moderate Hindus of position, means and influence, issued a manifesto dissociating themselves from Gandhi and his rebellion, although at the same time demanding dominion status at the earliest possible date.

The "untouchables," some 60,000,000 strong, were equally positive in repudiating the leadership of the Hindu chieftain. The Sikhs likewise remained outside the fold.

The evidence therefore seemed to indicate a month after "civil disobedience" actually began, and before the arrest of Gandhi, that the revolt had failed to reach some 230,000,000 out of the 320,000,000 inhabitants of India—the bulk of the Mohammedans, the "untouchables," the residents of the native States, the Christians, the inhabitants of Burma and the moderate Hindus.

The arrest of Gandhi intensified and extended but did not change the character of the campaign which had grown out of the "non-violent" resistance to authority that he had originated. The mobs were larger and more numerous, the destruction of life and property was greater, military force more freely used, the economic boycott more generally applied. Great Britain continued to stand firm for law and order under the existing régime, pending an adjustment of the situation at the coming round-table conference. Largely leaderless after the imprisonment of their most militant chieftains, the Indian extremists gave violent and natural expression to the emotions of discontent, injured pride and hate which have been fired within them. Meanwhile the world watched tensely the development of one of the great dramas of our time.

# A MONTH'S HISTORY OF THE NATIONS

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## INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

*By JOHN B. WHITTON*

**D**URING THE last month important steps have been taken toward putting into operation the World Bank, officially the Bank for International Settlements, which was created as an integral part of the Young plan. The first meeting of the Board of Directors was held at Basle on April 22. The board has the entire administrative control of the organization, and includes among the directors the governors of the central banks of Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the United States, and of course the governor of the Bank of France and the president of the Reichsbank, each of whom may appoint one additional director of his own nationality.

The Basle meeting of the directors was hailed as marking the end of the political phase of the reparations problem. It was also regarded as of considerable financial importance from the international point of view, because of the hopes expressed by the Paris Experts Committee that the bank would eventually far transcend its narrower functions of arranging reparation transfers.

Gates W. McGarrah, an American, was unanimously elected president, his choice having been assured long in advance. A more delicate task was the appointment of a director general. The candidate for this post, Pierre Quesnay, noted French economist and financial

expert, had been opposed in Germany, but was elected despite the protest from the German member of the board, Dr. Luther. His opposition was in no way personal, he insisted, but was based on the principle that it was advisable that this strategic post should go to a neutral State rather than to a former enemy. German opinion was somewhat appeased, however, by the election of a German, Dr. Ernst Huelse, as assistant director general. This was a mark of good-will toward Germany, especially since this post had not been envisaged by the Young plan. Sir Charles Addis of Great Britain and Dr. Melchior of Germany were elected vice presidents. Signor Pilotti of Italy was chosen general secretary and Paul van Zeeland of Belgium head of the investment department. Leon Fraser, second American director on the board, was appointed to act as President McGarrah's deputy. He promptly entered upon his duties by submitting a report on the mobilization of the first issue of reparation bonds.

Mr. McGarrah, aided by M. Quesnay, had been working on the organization of the bank, and hoped that operations could be commenced early in May. But the launching of the bank was rendered rather uncertain by the continued failure of Great Britain and Italy to ratify the Young plan. This threatened to delay the opening of public subscriptions in the various countries for the

capital shares assigned them by agreement.

Italy's hesitation hinged upon the deadlock reached by the committee sitting in Paris for the purpose of settling the complicated Eastern European reparation question. While the Czechs and Hungarians were unable to agree, it was reported on April 24 that the commission was making strenuous efforts to bring them to an understanding, and on April 26 these two countries finally reached an agreement. Furthermore, differences outstanding between the Rumanians and Yugoslavia and Hungary were also settled. A series of four agreements was signed at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 28 by representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary, thus composing the intricate claims and counter-claims between Hungary and her creditors. The success of these negotiations was ascribed in large part to Louis Loucheur, chairman of the committee, and was facilitated by concessions made by the great powers, who agreed to further reductions of their claims in respect to Eastern European reparations.

A meeting of investment bankers was held in Brussels on May 1 to discuss the issuance of the first German annuity loan. This loan, for \$300,000,000, is to be issued in nine countries. Of this sum, \$100,000,000 is earmarked for the German railway and postal services. Only 30 per cent of the loan, or \$90,000,000 is to be floated in the United States.

Refuting the charge that the World Bank will be a "financial octopus," Melvin A. Traylor, President of the First National Bank of Chicago and a member of the organization committee of the bank, pointed out on April 28 that the assent of the central bank of any country must be obtained before financial operations of the World Bank can be carried out therein:

That the bank is not an international financial octopus threatening the economy

of any country or of all the world; that by the nature of its organization and management it is not a part of or an adjunct to any other international group or association; that in fact it is at best a relatively small bank created by bankers to perform primarily a specific banking function, with powers lodged in its directorate for its development from time to time along well-defined and sound financial lines, and always subject to reservations and restrictions not imposed upon any other financial institution in the world.

It is understood that M. Briand found time during the London naval conference to draw up an elaborate questionnaire concerning the proposed union of European States, which he is expected to send out soon to twenty-six European governments. He will request information useful for the forming of some form of federation, whose exact nature remains still somewhat uncertain. M. Briand disclaims two intentions which have been ascribed to the proponents of this plan, first, that it is aimed against the economic power of the United States; second, that it is for the purpose of furthering a political union that should in any way rival the League. In fact, he appears to frown upon any political union at all. All he desires is an economic union which shall facilitate industrial development and commercial interchange, particularly through the lowering of customs barriers. It is reported also that Count Coudenhove-Kalergi has just submitted to European governments a project for the constitution of a European federation. This plan is designed to secure cooperation with the League in enforcing peace, and would accord equal rights to both minority and majority races. Furthermore, it would provide for the denunciation of exclusive treaties between member and non-member States, and would provide a revenue from the proceeds of poll taxes on non-Europeans, these charges to be levied at the ports of the member States.

Charles Evans Hughes, who retired from the Permanent Court of International Justice upon his appointment as Chief Justice of the United States

Supreme Court, has also resigned from the panel of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, where he represented the United States since Sept. 30, 1926. The three other American members are John Bassett Moore, Elihu Root, and Newton D. Baker. To replace Mr. Hughes the United States Government on April 15, appointed Roland W. Boyden, member of a Boston law firm, and formerly with the Hoover Food Administration. Later he served as a delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference and thereafter on the Reparations Commission. Recently Mr. Boyden was appointed a member of the German-American Mixed Claims Commission to succeed the late Judge E. B. Parker.

Now that the Permanent Court of International Justice, in addition to many new tasks of great importance, has fallen heir to practically all the adjudication which formerly went to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the most important task of this latter body is the nomination of candidates for election to the World Court. Such elections are made by the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations. The task is a particularly important one this year, since the entire panel of the court must be chosen at the September session.

The world conference on the codification of international law, attended by the delegates of forty-seven nations, ended its labors on April 12 after sitting since March 13. Though its concrete results were disappointing, the conference made real progress. One convention was drafted. Two others, while left incomplete, were advanced materially through the clarification of issues, and by bringing into relief the difficulties which must be solved. After six years of preparation, evidenced by well-documented projects prepared by the League of Nations and individual countries, including the United States, the delegates met at The Hague to attempt the codification of three branches of international law. These subjects, which were inscribed by the Eighth

Assembly of the League of Nations in 1927 on the recommendation of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International law, were: Nationality, studied by the first committee under the chairmanship of M. Politis (Greece); Territorial Waters, confided to the second committee, presided over by Dr. Goepfert (Germany), and Responsibility of States for Injuries to Aliens, considered by the third committee, of which M. Basdevant (France) was chairman.

The Committee on Territorial Waters found such radical differences over the extent of the marginal sea that no convention was attempted. The committee on Responsibility of States, after tentatively agreeing on ten articles, found it impossible to secure the two-thirds vote required for a convention. The committee on Nationality encountered fewer differences and was able to weld the different projects into a convention. This document, however, was not signed by the United States. While the question of the inequality of the sexes in relation to the convention has received more attention in the press, and it is true that our delegation regretted that the new project did not go as far as our Cable act, our main objection concerned the expatriation feature. In the opinion of our delegation, the new convention was opposed to a fundamental conception dear to all Americans, namely, that a citizen of any State has a complete right to expatriate himself and become a citizen of a second State upon complying with the latter's laws.

Before adjourning the delegates formally requested the League of Nations to continue its work of codification and to this end to call a new conference when it should seem expedient to do so. The conference was presided over by former Prime Minister Heemskerk of the Netherlands. The United States was represented by David Hunter Miller, Editor of Treaties, Department of State; Green H. Hackworth, Solicitor, Department of State; Theodore G. Risley, Solicitor, Department of Labor;



Richard W. Flournoy Jr., Assistant Solicitor, Department of State; and Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division, Department of State. The delegation also included, as technical advisers, Professor Jesse S. Reeves of the University of Michigan, Professor Edwin M. Borchard of Yale University, and Professor Man-

ley O. Hudson of Harvard University.

A conference was scheduled to be held on May 13 at Geneva, for the unification of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes, and checks, with Martin H. Kennedy, United States Trade Commissioner in London, representing this country, "in an expert and advisory capacity."

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**A**MONG THE activities of the League of Nations during the past month was a fruitful session of the Child Welfare Committee from April 10 to 16, under the presidency of M. Ito of Japan. Four draft resolutions were adopted and a report on illegitimate children, educational films, and assistance to foreign minors was forwarded to the Council. Particular stress was laid on the desirability of international agreements for making marriage easier by eliminating the legal difficulties and high cost connected with it in various countries, and so encouraging legitimacy. The report also recommends an international convention for abolishing tariffs on educational films. At its final session the committee adopted a resolution expressing appreciation of the services of Dame Rachel Crowdy, Secretary and Chief of the Social Section of the League Secretariat, whose contract has come to an end.

The conclusion of the London naval conference and the beginning of the sessions of the League Committee on Arbitration and Security were almost simultaneous. The work of the latter body at Geneva is considered an intermediate step between the naval conference and the session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, which will probably not take place until after the League Assembly in September. This postponement would give France and Italy a chance to knit up some of the ravelled ends left by their London differences.

The principal legacy of London to

which Geneva falls heir is the compromise reached between the two methods of limitation—the "category" method sponsored by Great Britain and the "global tonnage" method sponsored by France. Prime Minister MacDonald emphasized the importance of this compromise when he forwarded to the League a copy of the naval treaty. M. Briand, in his closing speech at London, declared that "the fundamental disagreement between the two delegations on the naval question had paralyzed the work of the Geneva Preparatory Commission. This divergence has now disappeared."

The three main items on the agenda of the Arbitration and Security Committee are : (1) Drafting into a general convention the model treaty drawn up in 1928 for strengthening the means of preventing war; (2) revising the draft convention for financial assistance to a State victim of aggression; and (3) completing plans to insure uninterrupted carrying on of the League's work in times of crisis, by means of communication and aircraft.

Several interesting proposals marked the opening sessions. Lord Cecil expressed the wish of the British Government that the proposed draft treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war should recognize in its preamble the existence of the Pact of Paris. He was supported in this proposal by Denmark, Holland and Peru. But Uruguay, so far not a signatory of the Pact of Paris, opposed this viewpoint and was joined by the majority of the nations represented. The result, it is believed,

will probably be that the substance of the pact will be embodied in the preamble, without mention of the pact itself. The decision of most of the powers bound by both the League covenant and the pact, in favor of omitting reference to the latter, is interpreted by observers as significant of the greater value attached to the covenant as a practical and constructive peace instrument.

A project providing for the ownership of planes by the League, for use in taking quick action in emergencies, was placed before the committee. Details were turned over to a sub-committee.

Dr. Goepfert, German member, submitted a proposal for the creation, in times of crisis, of demilitarized zones between disputant countries, thus lessening the likelihood of clashes between their armies.

The differences debated at London between the British and French views regarding obligations under the League covenant, were again discussed, in connection with the proposed convention for furthering means of war-prevention. M. Massigli of France maintained that the proposed convention would weaken rather than strengthen the covenant unless it bound disputants to accept the Council's recommendations, made even without their consent, and unless provision were made to insure that the disputants executed the recommendations of the Council and that sanctions were provided against a disputant violating his pledge. Lord Cecil, on the other hand, while admitting that the convention would not be a big step forward, held that it would be helpful, that the Council would not be likely to recommend unacceptable measures, and that in case of non-acceptance on the part of a disputant, the sanctions under Article XVI of the covenant would be adequate. The British stand was supported by Germany and Holland, while Poland, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Spain and China stood with the French.

In the opening discussion of the

Convention for Financial Assistance, France and Great Britain agreed on an important point, namely, that a state *threatened* with aggression, as well as an actual victim of aggression, should receive assistance. While the committee, at this writing, appears to be divided as to whether the Council must grant aid or whether it may have discretionary power, there seems to be general agreement that the convention should not be enforced until a general disarmament treaty has been concluded.

It will be remembered that two years ago the control of Austria's disarmament passed from the interallied commission to the League. In this connection, notes have recently been exchanged between Austria and the League, with a view to accelerating that country's inner disarmament. The Austrian government will recommend to the National Council at its next meeting that a new law be introduced prohibiting more strictly the possession of arms. It is believed that the object of this proposed law is to disarm the Heimwehr and the Socialist Schütz-bund, organizations which have come in for considerable criticism because of their military nature.

On April 14 the Committee of Inquiry met at Geneva to study the work of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and the Paris Institute. Roland Marcel was elected chairman. The American member of the committee is Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education, New York. It was decided to refer to a drafting committee the formulation of a report embodying the discussions and decisions.

The narcotic drug evil is receiving more and more widespread attention. On April 24 the Permanent Central Opium Board began its sessions, under the presidency of Mr. Lyall of Great Britain. Herbert L. May of Pittsburgh is a member of this body. Figures showing the import and export of opium and other drugs during the past quarter of 1929 were examined and es-

timated needs for 1930 were to be considered.

The League Opium Commission, with the cooperation of the Japanese government, has been investigating the opium situation in various parts of Japan. The Polish and South African governments have recently notified the secretary general of the League that they agree to the fundamental principles laid down in the plan for limiting production of manufactured drugs. In the United States, the Porter Joint Resolution proposes to create a Bureau of Narcotics under the Treasury Department, a plan which has the approval of Secretary Mellon. It is thought that the creation of such a bureau may make for more direct cooperation with the Opium Commission than heretofore.

With the recent signatures of Greece, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Rumania and Latvia, twenty-three of the twenty-six States represented at the Conference for Concerted Economic Action held in March have now signed the Protocol for Future Negotiations, indicating thereby a sincere determination to keep on hacking away at the Gordian knot of lowering tariff walls; eighteen nations have signed the convention itself and eighteen the final act.

At its session in Paris on April 24 to 30, the governing body of the International Labor Organization celebrated the tenth anniversary of its first meeting. By the death of Arvid Thorberg of Stockholm, a member since 1920,

the governing body has lost one of its outstanding personalities. The scope of the International Labor Organization is constantly widening and its prestige increasing. It is about to set up a correspondent's office in China similar to those now existing in the other large countries including the United States. In Rumania the government has organized a permanent commission on relations with the International Labor Office and Organization.

With Norway's ratification on April 10, the protocol providing for American membership in the Court has been accepted by seven countries—South Africa, Austria, Great Britain, Denmark, India, Norway and Sweden.

The recent ratifications of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa bring up to twenty-six the number of States bound by the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice regarding compulsory jurisdiction. In all, forty-two States have accepted this clause, but sixteen of these have not yet ratified.

The recent appointment of James W. Riddleberger as Third Vice Consul at Geneva increases to five the members of the American Consulate staff, exclusive of several assistants. On May 1, the consulate moved to its new and much more spacious quarters nearer the League Secretariat. It is expected that before Fall a high ranking officer will be assigned to Geneva as American observer at the League.

## THE UNITED STATES

**T**HE SENATE rejected the nomination of Judge John J. Parker as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on May 7 by a vote of 41 to 39. Opposition to the Parker nomination was begun by labor and Negro organizations which objected to the policies behind his decision in 1922 on "yellow dog" contracts and his speech in 1920 concerning Negroes in politics.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, by 10 to 6, voted to report against the Parker nomination on April 21 after defeating a motion to allow Judge Parker to testify, which he had signified his willingness to do. When debate on the question opened on April 28, the Senate had before it a letter from the candidate refuting and explaining the charges against him. In defending his decision upholding "yellow dog" con-

tracts in the Red Jacket Coal Company case, Judge Parker used the same argument as the Department of Justice had advanced in his defense on April 13, namely, that he had followed a precedent of the Supreme Court. Judge Parker cited two cases in which that body had upheld such contracts "under which an employe agrees not to join the union while remaining in the service of his employer," and had ruled it unlawful for the union to use either peaceful or violent persuasion on an employe to break his contract.

Senator Borah, leading the opposition, declared that Judge Parker had gone far beyond the Supreme Court precedents. "This is the only injunction in history," said Mr. Borah, "ever issued against peaceable persuasion." He maintained that the "yellow dog" contract "is not yet imbedded in our jurisprudence; that it is not yet accepted, and that we will become a party to making it a part of our judicial system if we shall put upon the supreme bench those who are unalterably committed to the doctrine."

The objections of Negro organizations to Judge Parker were based on a speech made during his campaign for Governor of North Carolina in 1920. At that time Judge Parker said:

The Negro as a class does not desire to enter politics. The Republican party of North Carolina does not desire him to do so. We recognize that he has not reached that stage in his development when he can share the burdens and responsibilities of government. Participation of the Negro in politics is a source of evil and danger to both races and is not desired by the wise men of either race or by the Republican party of North Carolina.

Officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opposed this attitude as typical of the "lily white" sentiment in North Carolina, where, they claimed, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution had been flagrantly violated. In his letter, Judge Parker explained the situation which prompted his speech as follows: "My effort then

was to answer those who were seeking to inject the race issue into the campaign under a charge that the Republican party of North Carolina intended to organize the colored people and restore the conditions of the reconstruction era. I knew the baneful effect of such a campaign and sought to avoid it."

A Washington observer pointed out, in Judge Parker's defense, that the point of view expressed in his campaign speech might, with slight modification be termed "an exact expression of the belief of practically every enlightened man in the South, whether Republican or Democrat, white or colored." The suggested modification, which throws a good deal of light on the race problem in the South was: "The Negro as a class does not care to enter politics and if left to himself does not do so. Where the Negro constitutes a majority of the population or a decisively large portion of it, we deplore organized movements to pay his poll tax, to persuade him to register or otherwise to stimulate him to vote as a racially conscious mass with the object of taking control of the government out of the hands of the white voters."

For a week the Senate debated Judge Parker's fitness with intense bitterness without, however, casting any aspersions on his character and personal integrity. As with Hughes, the attack on Parker in its larger aspects was an attack on the conservative cast of the Supreme Court. Politically, also, the controversy was full of significance, with elections in the offing. Would Senators who voted against the confirmation be hailed by their constituents as friends of labor, and would those who favored confirmation lose the Negro vote? Testimonials for Judge Parker and protests against him poured in by the hundreds. No fewer than six former presidents of the American Bar Association rallied to his support. His nomination was called a purely political bid for Southern votes and, in the heat of polemics, it was even charged that the administration had tried to bring pressure to bear on wavering Senators.



Throughout all this agitation President Hoover kept silent. Up to the moment of calling the roll the result was in doubt and as the Senators answered to their names a tense silence filled the crowded Senate chamber. The vote was as follows:

## FOR CONFIRMATION—39.

## REPUBLICANS—29.

Allen	Hastings	Reed
Baird	Hatfield	Shortridge
Bingham	Hebert	Smoot
Dale	Jones	Sullivan
Fess	Kean	Thomas
Gillett	Keyes	(Idaho)
Goldsborough	McCulloch	Townsend
Gould	Metcalf	Walcott
Greene	Oddie	Waterman
Hale	Patterson	Watson

## DEMOCRATS—10.

Blease	Overman	Steck
Broussard	Ransdell	Stephens
Glass	Simmons	Swanson
Harrison		

## AGAINST CONFIRMATION—41.

## REPUBLICANS—17.

Blaine	Frazier	Pine
Borah	Howell	Robinson
Capper	Johnson	(Ind.)
Couzens	La Follette	Schall
Cutting	Norris	Steiwer
Deneen	Nye	Vandenberg

## DEMOCRATS—23.

Ashurst	Harris	Trammell
Barkley	Hawes	Tydings
Black	Hayden	Wagner
Bratton	Kendrick	Walsh
Brock	McKellar	(Mass.)
Caraway	Pittman	Walsh
Connally	Robinson	(Mont.)
Copeland	(Ark.)	Wheeler
Dill	Sheppard	

## FARMER LABOR—1.

Shipstead

## PAIRS—16.

For Confirmation—Goff, Norbeck, Moses, Phipps, Grundy, Republicans; Fletcher, King, Smith, Democrats.

Against Confirmation—Brookhart, Glenn, McMaster, McNary, Robison, Republicans; Heflin, George, Thomas (Okla.), Democrats.

The rejection of Judge Parker was the fourteenth refusal of the Senate to confirm a Supreme Court nomination, either by rejection or failure to vote, since American history began. Two examples are especially interesting. In 1795 the Senate rejected President Washington's nomination of John Rutledge of South Carolina as Chief Justice, by a vote of 14 to 10. Although Rutledge had previously been an Associate Justice, he was opposed because

he did not favor the Jay Treaty with Great Britain which the Senate had ratified by a bare two-thirds vote the year before. Forty years later President Jackson submitted the name of Roger Brooke Taney as a candidate for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. The Senate refused to confirm this rigid, strict constructionist and opponent of States' rights. But in 1836, a year later, Taney became Chief Justice, his nomination ratified by a Senate of a different complexion.

On May 9, the day after Judge Parker's rejection, President Hoover nominated Owen J. Roberts of Philadelphia to fill the Supreme Court vacancy. A well-known lawyer, Mr. Roberts was appointed by President Coolidge in 1924 as special government prosecutor of the oil lease cases. The Senate ratified that appointment by 68 to 8. Mr. Roberts won two Supreme Court decisions, holding the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills oil leases invalid. His investigations were responsible for prosecutions against Sinclair, Doheny and Fall.

## THE TARIFF

The Smoot-Hawley tariff bill emerged from the joint conference on April 29 as the highest tariff bill yet devised by Congress. The conferees, compromising the 1,253 differences between the high Senate bill and the higher House bill arrived at a new high rate average by adopting in general the Senate increases on farm products and the House increases on manufactures. The conference carefully shunned all controversial questions. Thus, when it reported the bill back to Congress it likewise reported failure to agree on cement, lumber, sugar and silver rates as well as on the debenture and flexible provisions. According to procedure agreed on at a White House breakfast on April 24 the conference report was first taken up in the House, where on May 1 it was adopted as a whole by a vote of 241 to 152.

On the same day the Senate's 6 cent duty on cement, now on the free list, was voted by the House, which had previously demanded an 8 cent rate.

A low-tariff group composed of 91 Republicans and 137 Democrats swept suddenly into power on May 2, passed the Senate's 2 cent rate on Cuban sugar and returned lumber and silver to the free list. Next day, however, the regular Republican majority reasserted itself. Again the debenture provision was rejected and again the House refused to transfer the flexible power from the President to Congress.

These two points, therefore, remained the only serious stumbling blocks to agreement between House and Senate, and final passage of the bill. But there was no indication that the Democratic-Insurgent majority in the Senate would relent and there was every indication that Mr. Hoover would veto a bill containing the debenture.

The possibility of veto was regarded not as a disaster but as a blessing to the country by 1,028 economists who petitioned the President against the bill on May 4. A number of evils could result from increased duties, the petition argued: higher prices to the consumer, increased cost of living and loss to the vast majority of farmers who sell or export cotton, pork and wheat. "Our export trade in general would suffer," the statement continued. "Countries cannot permanently buy from us unless they are permitted to sell to us, and the more we restrict the importation of goods from them by means of ever higher tariffs, the more we reduce the possibility of our exporting to them. This applies to such exporting industries as copper, automobiles, agricultural machinery, typewriters and the like fully as much as it does to farming." The report of the President's Committee on Recent Economic Changes was cited as evidence that profits have grown since the war, making higher protection unnecessary. The bill, it was asserted, would harm American investments abroad, which the Department of Commerce computed at between \$12,000,000,000 and \$14,250,000,000, since foreign debtors would find it still more difficult to pay interest. Retaliatory tariffs by foreign nations were predicted and a grow-

ing bitterness in our foreign relations. Finally, it was maintained that the policy of the tariff bill was contrary to the spirit of the resolution adopted at the world economic conference in 1927 which announced that "the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction." The signers of the petition included prominent economists such as Wesley Mitchell, Frank Taussig, Henry Seager, Paul Douglas and Irving Fisher.

#### NAVAL CONSTRUCTION

The business of ratifying the London treaty was begun on May 12, when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee began hearings with Secretary Stimson as the first witness. The Committees on Naval Affairs in both Senate and House had also scheduled hearings for that week to discover the exact effects of the treaty on the United States Navy.

A naval building program carrying out the provisions of the London Treaty was submitted to the House by Representative Britten, Chairman of the Naval Committee, on May 8. According to Mr. Britten's estimates, it will cost this country about \$1,000,000,000 to build up to parity with Great Britain. To make this total the new bill adds \$497,800,000 to what has already been appropriated by Congress. All the ships are to be begun before July 1, 1936, and completed by 1940, but the President may suspend building operations in the event of another naval agreement. The bill divided construction and approximate costs into the following categories:

73,500 tons of light	
cruisers .....	\$132,300,000
55,500 tons of destroy-	
ers and destroyer	
leaders .....	150,000,000
42,100 tons of subma-	
rines .....	122,000,000
69,000 tons of aircraft	
carriers .....	93,500,000

Secretary Stimson and other advocates have stressed the economies to

this country effected by the London treaty, pointing out tremendous savings gained by the battleship holiday. A comparison of the above figures with what the United States would have spent on naval building in the next seven years under conditions of naval rivalry instead of limitation and parity would, of course, be the only means of judging accurately the economy value of the London Treaty. It is interesting to remember, however, that the cruiser bill of February, 1929, which appropriated \$274,000,000, was passed only after more than a year's conflict during which the program was cut in half.

Where the billion dollars for the Britten bill was to come from had not been discussed at this writing. Nor does this sum include the money for upkeep of the ships to be built. This must be provided by the annual Navy Department appropriation bill which this year asked \$377,036,086 for the department during the coming fiscal year, the largest naval budget in the world. Representative Burton L. French, Chairman of the Navy Appropriations Subcommittee recently estimated from actual reports the annual cost of operation and upkeep of the various types of ships as follows: 10,000-ton cruiser, \$1,250,878; aircraft carrier, \$3,766,698; submarine, \$436,363.

For the second time since February, President Hoover warned Congress on April 18 to keep its appropriations within budget limits. This time he used the fearful word "deficit" to strengthen his plea. In a letter to leaders in both houses the President said that the government was faced with a deficiency of some twenty or thirty millions of dollars at the end of the next fiscal year, concluding, "I know you will agree with me that there is cause for real alarm in the situation as we cannot contemplate any such deficit." At the same time the President submitted to Congress a request for a supplemental appropriation of \$28,693,540 for the vast Federal building program, for which the Treasury bill had already asked \$48,709,390 and the Keyes-Elliott act, passed on March 31, provided \$568,-

000,000 over a period of ten years.

Less than a week later the House passed the long-debated Rankin bill for the relief of all World War veterans who had developed a 10 per cent disability up to Jan. 1, 1930. The arguments of the opposition were twofold: that it was absurd to ascribe to the war illnesses contracted twelve years later, and that the cost would be stupendous. General Hines, Director of the Veterans' Bureau protested that this country has already spent more than \$5,000,000,000 for veterans' relief and that the bill would add anywhere from \$96,000,000 to \$200,000,000 more to the appropriation of \$511,225,000 for the next fiscal year. Representative Wood estimated that "we are already expending through the Veterans' Bureau an amount equal to the customs receipts of the United States. We are now expending through the Veterans' Bureau an amount equal to one-fourth of all the income of the United States through any instrumentality." The Rankin bill was passed by a vote of 324 to 49.

An omnibus bill demanding \$111,000,000 for the improvement of rivers and harbors was voted by the House on April 19. It is provided that the Erie and Oswego Canals should be ceded to the Federal Government and that a channel be built from Lake Ontario to Ogdensburg, N. Y., as the first step in the projected St. Lawrence waterway system. The House learned that Mr. Hoover was strongly opposed to any expense for waterways in 1931 over and above the \$60,000,000 appropriation contained in the War Department supply bill.

Two of the three unemployment bills introduced by Senator Wagner were passed by the Senate on April 28. One would create a stabilization board composed of the Secretaries of the Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor to watch the trend of employment and report to the President any need for advance building programs to avert a depression. The other would set up a bureau of labor statistics under the Labor Department to enlarge and improve

the accuracy of the present inadequate system of gathering unemployment data.

The need for such an agency was stressed by President Hoover in a speech before the United States Chamber of Commerce on May 1. He spoke of the stock market crash, the fundamental causes behind it and the emergency measures which followed it as of a closed era which can now be viewed in historic perspective. He said that the great economic experiment, the cooperation of government and private enterprise to "stabilize economic forces" had succeeded, and that "there is one certainty in the future of a people of the resources, intelligence and character of the people of the United States—that is prosperity." Of greatest significance was Mr. Hoover's observation that "the whole range of our experiences with this boom and slump should be placed under accurate examination with a view to broad determination of what can be done to achieve greater stability for the future both in prevention and in remedy. If such an exhaustive examination meets with general approval, I shall, when the situation clears a little, move to organize a body—representative of business, economics, labor and agriculture—to undertake it."

#### PROHIBITION

The recommendations of the Wick-ersham commission for more efficient enforcement of prohibition, although approved by the President and submitted to a predominantly dry Congress on Jan. 13, had not been converted into law by the middle of May. They seemed to be hopelessly sidetracked in the Senate Judiciary Committee. It was only after Mr. Hoover had expressed concern for his program that one of the bills—the one which provided transfer of enforcement from the Treasury to the Department of Justice—was finally reported to the Senate on April 25. An amendment was added to safeguard civil service employees in the bureau, and on May 5 the prospects for the bill were fairly bright. But there was little

hope that the other measures would be reported—especially the much-disputed plan to allow Federal commissioners to try minor cases.

Returns on the *Literary Digest* poll continued to bear out the early trends, with repeal in the lead and the largest wet majorities in the cities. Nevertheless, five States gave an absolute majority for enforcement—Kansas, Arkansas, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Tennessee. Almost complete returns were tabulated on May 9 as follows:

	For Enforcement.	For Modification.	For Repeal.
Alabama .....	14,015	7,604	* 7,640
Arizona .....	2,156	2,370	1,967
Arkansas .....	11,986	5,454	5,526
California .....	73,150	83,044	90,494
Colorado .....	19,962	14,485	10,881
Connecticut .....	16,581	29,598	46,483
Delaware .....	2,780	1,661	3,948
Dis. of Columbia..	3,823	4,715	6,952
Florida .....	11,589	10,557	15,005
Georgia .....	12,037	8,787	9,685
Idaho .....	5,480	3,229	5,552
Illinois .....	58,107	71,189	110,317
Indiana .....	47,644	36,583	37,610
Iowa .....	36,182	25,168	24,626
Kansas .....	39,030	16,023	12,393
Kentucky .....	19,487	14,930	21,689
Louisiana .....	6,818	7,845	14,650
Maine .....	10,415	6,708	9,635
Maryland .....	11,678	11,567	22,046
Massachusetts .....	47,592	41,839	74,718
Michigan .....	55,220	64,569	84,754
Minnesota .....	37,670	38,905	49,843
Mississippi .....	7,986	4,003	4,716
Missouri .....	41,660	32,154	58,151
Montana .....	5,852	5,685	10,063
Nebraska .....	20,831	14,590	13,513
Nevada .....	477	761	1,161
New Hampshire...	6,745	5,884	5,637
New Jersey .....	42,214	68,380	112,133
New Mexico .....	1,457	1,242	1,487
New York .....	98,722	170,779	261,892
North Carolina...	25,002	13,308	11,325
North Dakota....	8,319	8,623	10,452
Ohio .....	84,727	90,682	93,717
Oklahoma .....	23,321	11,786	10,931
Oregon .....	17,417	16,154	13,637
Pennsylvania .....	129,114	123,036	216,335
Rhode Island.....	3,908	5,132	9,078
South Carolina...	8,790	5,660	6,556
South Dakota.....	7,910	6,678	5,774
Tennessee .....	19,423	9,398	9,665
Texas .....	43,646	28,058	25,835
Utah .....	5,572	5,016	4,818
Vermont .....	4,671	3,818	4,271
Virginia .....	19,710	14,854	22,262
Washington .....	23,682	24,526	22,370
West Virginia....	15,312	13,483	11,583
Wisconsin .....	21,246	28,012	42,746
Wyoming .....	2,114	2,012	3,362
State unknown....	15,359	11,305	8,695
	1,248,589	1,231,849	1,669,579

The worst of the series of prison disasters which since last August have step by step revealed the shocking conditions in prisons throughout the country occurred in the Ohio State penitentiary on April 21. Three hundred and twenty-two prisoners were trapped in their cells and burned to death in a



fire thought to have been started by prisoners trying to escape. For several weeks after the fire the prison atmosphere was tense, with sporadic outbursts quelled by National Guardsmen using tear bombs. An inquiry held by Governor Cooper revealed that there had been some delay in releasing the prisoners from their burning cells and that in the devastated cell block, built in 1890, there had not been a fire drill

within memory. For years it has been generally known that conditions were very bad in the Ohio prison, where 4,214 men were herded into quarters built for 1,500 at most. This state of affairs necessarily kept hundreds idle. Two days after the Ohio incident the Senate Judiciary Committee reported the seven prison reform bills which have been before Congress since last December.

D. E. W.

## MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE RESIGNATION of former Provisional President Portes Gil as Minister of the Interior was tendered on April 22 immediately after his election as president of the National Revolutionary party, of which President Ortiz Rubio is a member. Other changes in the Cabinet were reported on April 24 to be imminent.

Because of having violated an order of Secretary of War Amaro which prohibits participation in politics by military men while in active service, several high officials in the War Department were early in April relieved of their posts, but without being dismissed definitely from the service.

An investigation of the petroleum industry and an effort to find means of reviving production will be made by a national Petroleum Commission, which was authorized by a Presidential decree issued on April 3.

The Federal Prosecutor in the case of Daniel Flores, who attempted to assassinate President Ortiz Rubio on Feb. 5, announced on April 15 that he would ask for a sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment for the would-be assassin.

A strike of the members of the Newspaper Reporters' Union, who demanded that Mexican newspapers should cancel their membership in The Associated Press, resulted in the appearance, on three consecutive days in

mid-April of Mexico City's leading dailies without any foreign news or sections printed in English. The grievances against The Associated Press were submitted on April 21 to a board of conciliation and arbitration by the reporters' union.

Metal production in Mexico for the year 1929 showed an increase over the preceding year, according to official figures made public early in April. Silver production for 1929 was 3,327,038 kilograms, or 1.45 per cent less than for 1928; gold production was 20,276 kilograms, or a decrease of 2.15 per cent as compared with that of 1928; copper production was 85,553,669 kilograms, which is an increase of 32.13 per cent as compared with 1928; lead production was 248,400,859 kilograms, an increase of 5.04 per cent over the preceding year; and zinc production amounted to 174,049,687 kilograms, which is an increase of 7.61 per cent over the 1928 production. The 1929 production of copper places Mexico sixth among the copper-producing countries of the world.

J. E. Barstow, an American citizen who was kidnapped by bandits in March near Mazatlán and held for a ransom, was released by his kidnappers on April 9 after payment of \$1,500 by the victim's son. The ransom money paid was one-tenth the amount orig-

inally demanded. This was because the bandits were afraid of capture by Federal troops. On April 14 it was reported that Federal troops, who had been ordered to wipe out outlawry, had killed eight of the band that kidnapped Barstow; late in April the leader of the band was reported to have been captured and executed.

Bandits who kidnapped Dr. George E. Purnell, an American dentist at Guadalupe, released him on April 22 on the payment of \$200. As an extraordinary protection to the increased number of motorists during Easter week, the War Department in mid-April stationed 3,000 troops along the principal highways that lead out from Mexico City.

**NICARAGUA**—The treaty of March 24, 1928, between Nicaragua and Colombia, which recognized Nicaragua's claim to the Mosquito Coast and the Great and Little Corn Islands in the Caribbean and by which Nicaragua recognized Colombia's claim to certain islands of the Andreas Archipelago, was ratified by the Nicaraguan Congress on April 4. Colombia ratified the treaty in November, 1928. The Corn Islands were leased by Nicaragua to the United States in 1916 for ninety-nine years.

Matthew E. Hanna presented to President Moncada on April 12 his credentials as Minister from the United States.

Two United States Marine officers in Nicaragua—Acting Captain V. H. Dartt of Tennessee and Acting Lieutenant J. O. Young of Ohio—were murdered in their sleep on April 19 by a disgruntled corporal of the Nicaraguan National Guard, who turned a machine gun on the officers' quarters at Jicaro, near the Honduran frontier. The corporal was shot down by the guards after he had fired fifty-two bullets.

**HAITI**—In compliance with recommendations made in March by the Hoover investigating commission, the Haitian Council of State on April 21 unanimously chose Eugene Roy as Pro-

visional President of Haiti to succeed President Borno at the conclusion of his term on May 15. This action was not taken, however, until the Council of State, as it had existed in March at the time of the investigation made by the Hoover commission, had been reconstituted by President Borno.

Opposition of a majority of the twenty-one members of the Council of State to the election of Roy, and even the prospect of the election by the council of some one other than Roy, led to an adjournment by order of President Borno on April 13. The following day it was announced from Washington that in taking this action President Borno had the full support of the United States Government, but that he would retain this support only so long as he acted in accord with the recommendations of the Hoover commission. At the same time President Borno was warned by the Department of State that the United States Government would recognize Eugene Roy and no one else as Provisional President of Haiti. Acting upon this warning as an ultimatum, President Borno on April 16 officially removed twelve members of the Council of State who opposed the plan of the Hoover investigating commission and filled their places with men favoring the plan. The next day Acting United States Secretary of State Cotton stated that the United States Government, acting on the recommendations of the Hoover investigating commission, was exercising a degree of persuasion in the selection of Roy as Provisional President of Haiti, and that it approved the action of President Borno in revising the membership of his Council of State. Five days later the council formally elected Roy.

American officials in Haiti were quoted in an Associated Press dispatch on April 2 as estimating that the military intervention of the United States in Haiti since 1915 had cost in excess of \$23,000,000.

Captain Montgomery A. Stuart of the Naval Medical School in Washington was ordered to Haiti on April 8

where he will succeed Captain Kent C. Melhorn of the Navy Medical Corps as Director General of the Public Health Service.

**HONDURAS**—The Honduran Congress on April 11 approved of a free trade treaty which recently was signed by the governments of Honduras and Nicaragua.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**—On April 9, just forty days after the overthrow of the Vásquez government in the Dominican Republic, the Dominican Congress approved a new election law and sent it to Provisional President Urena for his formal action thereon. The law, which had the previous endorsement of President Urena, provided for the election of a Constitutional President on May 15. It was

chiefly to attain such a law that a rebellion with Urena as one of its leaders broke out against the Vásquez Government, resulting in its overthrow on Feb. 28.

In presenting his credentials to President Hoover on April 24 as the Minister from the Dominican Republic, Dr. Rafael Brache praised President Hoover's policies with reference to the Caribbean and other Latin-American countries and stated that these were "leading toward a holy alliance called the American League of Nations." In his reply President Hoover referred to the "profound satisfaction" with which he had observed on his pre-inaugural Latin-American tour "a sincere cordiality and earnest desire for international amity and cooperation among the governments of this continent."

## SOUTH AMERICA

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND DEAN OF THE LOWER DIVISION, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

**A** SIGNIFICANT step toward the settlement of the Gran Chaco dispute was taken on May 1, when Bolivia and Paraguay exchanged cordial telegrams formally renewing diplomatic relations, which had been suspended since December, 1928. Immediately thereafter the respective Foreign Offices announced the names of the new Ministers. Paraguay is to be represented at La Paz by Rogelio Ibarra, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs and later Minister to Brazil, and Bolivia's diplomatic representative at Asunción will be Luis Fernando Guachalla.

Resumption of diplomatic relations followed closely upon the departure from Montevideo of the Uruguayan commissioners, Major Elbio Quinteros and Major Carlos Iribar, who are to supervise the exchange of Forts Bóquerón and Vanguardia. It is apparent, therefore, that two of the provisions of

the conciliation negotiations held at Washington last year are well on the way to fulfillment. For this progress acknowledgment must be made not only to the Commission on Inquiry and Conciliation, Bolivia and Paraguay but also in a special sense to the Uruguayan Foreign Office and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Rufino T. Domínguez, through whose good offices agreement was reached as to the *modus operandi* to be followed in the return of the forts and also as to the date of renewal of diplomatic relations.

Great satisfaction at the progress made has been generally expressed throughout Latin America. *El País* of Montevideo says:

This settlement has demonstrated, first of all, the fraternal spirit which unites the republics of the continent. Two of them, involved in a disagreeable conflict particularly difficult to solve, did not hesitate to turn the matter over to the mediation of a sister republic, agreeing



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to abide unreservedly by her decision.

With the peaceful settlement of the Tacna-Arica problem and now the Bolivian-Paraguayan dispute, there remains only one really serious international problem in South America. That is Bolivia's demand for an outlet to the sea. It is to be hoped that the spirit of South American brotherhood which has solved the Tacna-Arica and Chaco problems will also find a definite solution to Bolivia's problem.

In spite of the optimism expressed in the editorial, it must not be forgotten that the major problem, namely, the territorial dispute out of which all the other difficulties arose, must still be solved. Bolivia is inclined to favor direct negotiations. Paraguay, on the other hand, is said to hold that, in view of the long record of failures to solve the problem by that means, further direct negotiations would be a waste of time and that recourse had better be had at once to the good offices of neutrals.

Another question which must be faced in the event of ultimate recourse to neutral arbitration is that of the

place of meeting. Uruguayan success in bringing about agreement as to the preliminaries has naturally developed a leaning in South American opinion toward Montevideo. Press reports seem to indicate that Paraguay is in favor of Washington.

It is possible that the selection of Montevideo might be regarded in some quarters as a manifestation of opposition to the influence of the United States in Latin-American affairs. There is probably little basis for this belief, though there can be little doubt that opposition of varying degrees exists in South America.

One phase of South American public opinion on the foreign policy of the United States is illustrated by recent editorials in *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, the great dailies of Buenos Aires. During March there was a certain amount of unfavorable editorial comment on the Haitian settlement, pointing out that the Forbes commission report had "studiously avoided" the question of sovereignty. This, according to *La Prensa*, is "another proof that the United States is continuing its intensive activities in the territories it has illegitimately dominated, without bringing its new activities into accord with its promise to re-establish right." "The [Monroe] Doctrine is condemned," *La Prensa* adds, "by the mere declaration of the equality of the republics, since it is impossible to sustain the principle that all nations are equal as long as one of them invokes a Presidential declaration of 107 years ago as authority for subjecting weaker nations to its tutelage and supervision." *La Prensa* continues:

If there are to be no superior nations and no aggressions among the republics of the American continent, then there can be no excuse for a refusal to recognize the equality of sovereign republics, and Haiti, Cuba and Nicaragua, which have been recognized as independent sovereign nations, cannot be interfered with by force. \* \* \*

Without a declaration of war and without suspending diplomatic relations, American intervention in certain Central American republics is overriding by force alone their just attributes as sovereign States and is exercising, despite all denials to the contrary, inexcusable inter-



ference in the domestic affairs of less powerful countries.

Equally frank in its expression is an editorial article appearing in *La Nación* on May 3, in which, after tracing American expansion and declaring that the so-called imperialistic policy of the United States is due to the natural tendency of all countries to increase their territory and their moral influence, the writer says that "international scandal is caused by the futile anxiety of the United States to appear before the world as the defender of weak nations and the respecter of the rights of others."

It is natural that big fish should eat smaller ones and that condors should devour small birds [*La Nación* asserts]. No one is alarmed when the tiger nations—Britain, France, Germany and Italy—sink their claws into weaker countries. But just as we would be horrified to see a dove turn into a bird of prey, so is scandal caused by the imperialism of the United States, which is just as brutal as other countries but will do everything possible to appear an immaculate, harmless lamb.

The day the United States has a President who, like Bismarck, calls things by their real names and, instead of trying to mask the imperialism of the United States, sincerely proclaims that imperialism, the colossus of America will begin to be respected even if not loved.

The effort to restrict Latin-American immigration at this session of Congress has failed. Senator Bingham is reported to have said that "it would not affect our labor problem one-millionth of 1 per cent, while its only result with respect to eighteen South American republics would be to produce hard feelings." On April 25 the Senate voted to recommit the proposed bill to the committee. Comment on the bill in South America had been sharply critical, and the news of its recommitment brought forth favorable editorials.

Argentine criticism of the proposed American tariff has been referred to in previous articles and still continues.

Meanwhile there is no evidence that South American or even Argentine dissatisfaction with our tariff, immigration or general foreign policies has had any serious effect upon commercial relations. Both American trade with South America and American invest-

ments there continue to increase. According to the United States Chamber of Commerce analysis of our foreign trade for 1929, Argentina showed the largest gain, after Canada, in trade with the United States, our export sales increasing over 17 per cent, while imports from Argentina were the largest since 1920. (This gain has not, however, been maintained so far this year.) Reference was made last month to recent large loans to South American countries, and further loans—national, provincial or industrial—are reported as likely. Among the countries listed as interested in obtaining such loans are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Uruguay.

Of particular interest is the recent loan of £20,000,000 to the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil, by New York and London bankers. Referred to as a "coffee realization" loan, the plan apparently is much broader in scope, for it provides for the gradual liquidation of the large stocks of coffee accumulated by the State of Sao Paulo in carrying out its valorization program and for the current marketing of future crops. Estimated stocks of coffee in Sao Paulo on July 1, next, total some 16,500,000 bags, worth at present prices about twice the amount of the loan, which will serve as security for the bonds. A minimum of one-tenth of this supply is to be sold each year, in equal monthly quotas, a corresponding amount of bonds being amortized. In addition, there will be marketed each month an amount equal to one-twenty-fourth of the amount of coffee produced during the current year plus the estimated production for the following year, insuring against crop fluctuations from year to year and assuring a regular flow into consuming markets. Furthermore, a minimum of 10,000,000 bags must be marketed each year, so that if the annual production during two successive years should average less than that figure the difference would be made up from the pledged coffee—a further guarantee of an adequate and a more regular supply than has been the case in recent years.

The new plan should assure consum-

ing markets of at least 2,000,000 more bags annually of Sao Paulo coffee than in previous years. Large crops will increase this figure. At the same time, it is unlikely that the other coffee-producing States of Brazil will assume the burden now laid aside by Sao Paulo by withholding their coffee from the market while Colombia, Central America and Sao Paulo reap the benefit. With world production now in excess of world consumption, there is little inducement for any coffee-producing State or nation to undertake valorization. In short, valorization, in its present form at least, is apparently quite dead.

**ARGENTINA**—On April 29 the session of Congress which began on Oct. 7, 1929, came to an end, after examining the credentials of the eighty Deputies elected on March 2. The new Congress will have a clear majority of members—100 out of a total of 158—in support of the President. One of the measures to be considered by the new Congress is a proposed oil law nationalizing petroleum workings and giving the central government a monopoly of the exploitation and production of petroleum and its products. Tariff revision upward, particularly on products from the United States, is discussed.

**BOLIVIA**—President Hoover has nominated Edward F. Feely, who was a member of the Kemmerer financial mission to Bolivia, as Minister to Bolivia in succession to David E. Kaufman.

On April 26 President Hernando Siles signed a decree reducing the salaries of government employes from 5 to 20 per cent, retroactive to April 1, as an economy measure.

A new Cabinet portfolio, that of Minister of Agriculture, Colonies and Social Welfare, was created by Presidential decree on April 16.

**CHILE**—On May 1 the Department of Arica, which had been administered by the Foreign Office for nearly fifty years, pending settlement of the

Tacna-Arica dispute, was formally incorporated in the Chilean Province of Tarapaca.

On April 30 the Council of Ministers voted to reduce the budget for 1930 by 40,000,000 pesos (\$4,000,000) and the budget for 1931 by double that amount. Economy measures will bear upon all government departments.

Government participation in the organization of a great nitrate company to the extent of a 50 per cent interest and financial participation also in the establishment (in conjunction with Chilean capitalists and the Krupp Works) of great steel mills at Valparaiso was indicated in newspaper reports.

**COLOMBIA**—President-elect Olaya Herrera arrived in New York on April 20 on his way to Washington to resume his post as Minister. On April 14 a coalition Cabinet, composed of four Conservatives and four Liberals, was sworn in.

Some relief for the acute financial situation was afforded by the extension of time granted by American bankers on about \$5,000,000 due April 19 and June 1.

**BRAZIL**—On May 3 the new Brazilian Congress convened and heard the opening address of President Washington Luis. The President declared that the economic situation was gratifying despite unfavorable factors, such as the publicity abroad given to the yellow fever outbreak and the agricultural crisis caused by overproduction of coffee and a consequent falling market. Federal receipts, he said, were in excess of expenditures, and exports had increased in 1929 over 1928 by 114,266 tons. The President advocated lengthening the term of office of the Presidency from four to six years and changing the election from March to September, retaining the present inauguration date of Nov. 15, in order to shorten the pre-inaugural period.

On May 2 it was reported that the State authorities were getting control

of the situation in the State of Parahyba, in Northern Brazil, where rebels under José Pereira are holding the town of Princeza.

**ECUADOR**—President Hoover has nominated William Dawson, Consul General at Mexico City, as Minister to Ecuador in succession to Gerhard A. Bading.

**PARAGUAY**—On May 6 the Minister of the Interior, in reply to questions in both houses, declared that the recent extension of the "state of seige" (a form of martial law) was due to communistic plottings affecting the army. A movement was to have been started on March 15, said the Minister, but it was frustrated by the government. Political assassinations were included in the plans, he said.

**PERU**—On April 24 police authorities revealed the discovery of two plots to assassinate President Augusto B. Leguía. Among the twelve men under arrest charged with being involved in the conspiracy are a former Cabinet Minister, Enrique de la Piedra, and a judge, Manuel Jesús Urbina. According to the police, an assassin had been hired to shoot the President as he was leaving the cathedral on Good Friday,

while in the other case a 17-year-old boy had been convinced he should murder the President "for the good of the country," his courage failing him on three occasions.

Following the announcement of the plots, a decree was issued suspending constitutional guarantees for thirty days in the departments of Lima, Lambayeque, Junión and Callao. This action is equivalent to a declaration of martial law.

**URUGUAY**—On April 26 the Senate approved the terms under which the government is to borrow \$17,000,000 from a group of American bankers. For the present, only \$10,000,000 of the loan will be drawn upon, pending settlement of a dispute between the government and the Bank of the Republic as to which should pay the interest. Proceeds of the loan are to be used in public works.

**VENEZUELA**—On April 26 President Juan Bautista Pérez presented his annual message to Congress. The President announced a reduction of the national debt during the year of \$2,841,172, leaving a total of \$10,152,172. Gains in federal revenue were due to an increase of 25 per cent in petroleum production for 1929 over 1928.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

*By* RALSTON HAYDEN

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**T**HE first budget of the Labor Government was introduced in the House of Commons on April 14 by Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The financial proposals that it contained were in conformity with the general record of the party since its acceptance of the responsibilities of office. They were well within the general principles of action accepted by all important political groups in Great Britain, and fell far short of the

desires of the Left Wing of the Labor party itself. The principal proposals were to increase the standard rate of the income tax, the surtax and the estate duties; to raise the excise rate on beer, and to repeal the tax on book-makers' certificates. To the surprise of many, the McKenna duties on motor cars, clocks, motion picture films and a few other articles will be retained, their revenue having been found indispensable; and various "safeguard-

ing" duties will be allowed to expire gradually instead of being abolished at once in deference to Labor's free-trade principles.

"It is not socialism; it is just a good Liberal budget," was the comment made by Conservative Lady Astor. A Left Wing member of Mr. Snowden's own party somewhat bitterly remarked on the following day that he had long ago given up all hope of "socialism in our time," but until yesterday afternoon he had clung to the hope of some social reconstruction in our time. It was pointed out, however, that a tax increase of \$200,000,000 to be spent for the amelioration of social conditions was asked for.

Among more important features of the budget, it is to be noted that the Chancellor provided for raising approximately \$4,000,000,000 during the fiscal year. Of this sum \$70,000,000 will be required to meet the deficit from the last Churchill budget, and about \$1,500,000,000 will be used to meet payments on Great Britain's war debt. An estimated surplus of \$12,000,000 is anticipated. The proposed increase of 12 cents in the standard income tax rate brings the levy to about \$1.12 on each \$5 of income, or about four times what it was before the war. The new supertax will start with 25 cents instead of 18 cents on every \$5 of income over \$10,000, and will rise until there will be a tax of about \$375 on every \$1,000 of income in excess of \$250,000. The death duties, or inheritance tax, will be increased on all fortunes above \$600,000 by gradual advances from the present rates, until a rate of 50 per cent is reached on estates valued at \$10,000,000 or more.

Accompanying Mr. Snowden's actual proposals were two announcements of importance. The first was that the government felt that the time had come to levy a tax on land values, and that as a preliminary step the revaluation of lands for this purpose would soon be undertaken. The second was the statement that in all probability no further increase of taxation would be necessary next year. In giving the

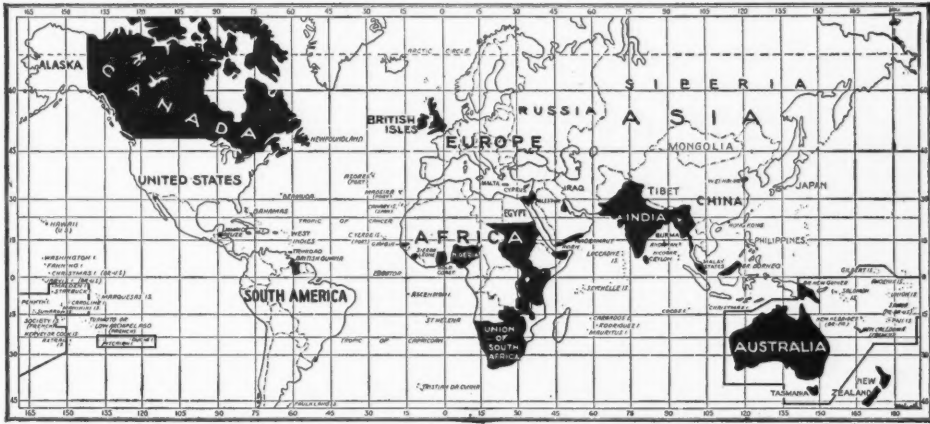
House this comforting information, the Chancellor set forth the principles upon which he justified his proposals—proposals which the Conservatives attacked as levying taxes that would drive capital out of the country, and which many of his own party criticized as bearing entirely too lightly upon wealth. Mr. Snowden said:

I abate not one jot or tittle in my life-long advocacy of great schemes of social reform and national reconstruction, but our immediate concern is to make these things ultimately possible out of revived and prosperous industry. To that we must first direct our efforts and devote what resources we can afford to that remunerative purpose. No man can speak of the future with certainty; least of all can I give any binding assurance; but at least I can say this: So far as I can see, the steps which I have proposed for balancing this year's budget will be sufficient to ensure, in the absence of unforeseeable calamities or of heavy increases of expenditure, that no further increases of taxation will need to be imposed next year. Though, as I have said, I am imposing no new direct burdens on industry, I am fully aware of the psychological effect on trade and commerce of increased taxation, even when no material burden is imposed. Recognizing this, I am convinced that, whatever my views as to the equity of the present distribution of the national wealth, in existing circumstances an essential factor in ameliorating unemployment is a restoration of a spirit of confidence and enterprise among those now responsible for conducting industry and commerce.

There being nothing revolutionary or even socialistic in the budget, Mr. Snowden's proposals were naturally accepted by a House of Commons that is not ready to destroy the Labor Government on general grounds. On May 1 when the Conservatives, led by Winston Churchill, sought to defeat the clauses increasing the income tax and otherwise to alter the prescribed financial program they were defeated, 255 to 139. The Liberals voted with the government and many Conservatives were absent.

At a conference of the Independent Labor party, which met at Birmingham on April 19, this important organization within the Labor party went on record as favoring more definite action than





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the Labor Government has yet taken to attain "socialism in our time." Resolutions were passed indorsing the action of the radical members of the party in voting against the unemployment insurance act and other official measures; criticizing the Snowden budget as not being sufficiently socialistic; demanding a 100 per cent tax upon very large estates; calling for the acquisition and operation of the Bank of England by the State, and instructing the national administrative council to reconstruct the Parliamentary party in such a way that its votes in the House of Commons would represent the policies avowed by the party. James Maxton, the leader of the thirty members of Commons who have spoken and voted against the government upon many occasions, was re-elected president of the organization.

Although some 200 members of the House belong to the I. L. P., it was generally felt that only the thirty radicals under Mr. Maxton's leadership would be active in carrying out the edicts of the conference by opposing the government. It was also declared that whatever support Mr. MacDonald might lose from the Left would be more than compensated for by accessions from the Right. The thirty extremists, however, now have the official approval of the party in their course, and may be expected to become more aggressive in their attacks

upon the government. In view of the development of the alarming situation in India, their position upon Indian policy was received with especial interest. Resolutions adopted by the group held the government responsible for the recent disturbances in India and demanded complete independence both for that country and Egypt.

Press reports on April 28 stated that experts had informed the government's committee which is investigating the causes of depression in the British heavy steel industry that it must be largely rebuilt if it is to compete successfully for world business. The necessary concentration in a few large units conveniently located with reference to fuel and transport facilities would cost about \$150,000,000, the experts declared.

**I**RELAND—The sound condition of the finances of the Irish Free State was emphasized in the speech with which Ernest Blythe, Minister of Finance, introduced his annual budget in the Dail on April 30. No increase or decrease in tariffs or the income tax, or in any other major source of revenue was proposed, the only new levy being a \$10 license fee for automobile hawkers. Revenue had exceeded expectations during the last twelve months, Mr. Blythe declared, and it had been possible to keep expenditures below the level of previous estimates. Calling at-

tention to the fact that the income tax in the Free State is three shillings in the pound (15 per cent), as compared with four shillings and sixpence ( $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent), in Great Britain, the Minister said that he hoped that this advantage might induce people of Irish origin to return to the motherland from England and Scotland. The statement concerning the public debt also indicated that Ireland was in a favorable position in this matter, upon which Mr. Blythe said that "the yield of Free State taxes has been, to a general extent, stabilized and the deadweight of the public debt has not greatly increased. The public debt outstanding amounts to £25,998,000 [\$126,090,000], while the total liabilities of the Free State amount to £20,850,000 [\$101,250,000]. This figure is not liable to increase to any great extent owing to debt redemption by the government. It is doubtful if any country in the world has made such ample provision for debt redemption as the Free State."

CANADA—The early dissolution of the Canadian Parliament, to be followed by a general election, was announced in the House of Commons at Ottawa on May 6. The declaration that the Liberals had decided to appeal to the people at the polls came as the climax of an exciting debate on the tariff provisions of the annual budget, introduced on May 1. In a three-hour speech Richard B. Bennett, the Conservative leader, denounced the proposals of the government, especially attacking the countervailing duties provided to meet anticipated increases in the United States tariff on Canadian commodities. He ended by moving a vote of no confidence in the King government.

The tariff proposals which precipitated the announcement of approaching dissolution had previously been explained by the Minister of Finance, who declared that they were inserted in order that other countries, through reciprocal action, might make it possible for the Dominion to avoid extremes in tariff schedules. They provide for

the automatic institution of reciprocal ratings when any other country imposes upon Canadian products rates higher than those enumerated in the Canadian tariff. The provisions will apply to potatoes, soups, live stock, fresh meats, cured and pickled meats, shell eggs, frozen eggs, frozen yolk or albumen of eggs, oats, oatmeal, wheat flour, rye, cut flowers and cast iron pipe. The press generally regarded this part of the bill as opening the way to retaliation for increases in the American tariff on Canadian products, although such intention was disavowed by the government.

Other provisions of the budget which drew the fire of the Conservative opposition were tariff increases upon many articles of import, accompanied by preferential treatment of goods of British origin. The most notable of the increases thus provided for were upon steel and iron products, of which Canada annually purchases some \$300,000,000 from the United States. It was also proposed to terminate the existing trade agreement with New Zealand next October, and to offer that dominion instead full-British preference in the Canadian market. Other changes in taxation proposed were additional exemptions under the income tax act, a further reduction in the sales tax, and downward revision of the tax on stock transfers. The general expectation in Ottawa was that the election would occur in August.

James Martin Miller writes: "Vancouver, British Columbia, is said to be the only municipality in the world requiring religious and welfare institutions to pay taxes. For more than twenty years the cities and towns of that Province were empowered to levy taxes on church property by virtue of an act of the British Columbia Parliament. Since 1920 some of the churches have paid their taxes under protest. In an action brought in the courts of British Columbia attacking the validity of the law, with Roman Catholics and Protestants making common cause, the government won. When the churches

appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada at Ottawa, the decisions of the courts of British Columbia were sustained. The churches next appealed to the Privy Council in London, and this court of last resort of the British Dominions reversed the decisions of the Canadian courts, declaring the law taxing churches invalid. The British Columbia Parliament thereupon repealed the law. The Vancouver incorporation act of 1921, however, was not included in the decision of the Privy Council. This gave the city power to tax churches, but before doing so the city administration decided to hold a plebiscite on the question of certain exemptions. On Oct. 17, 1928, the people voted 2 to 1 in favor of retaining certain features of the law but exempted churches devoted exclusively to divine worship. Obeying the will of the people as expressed in their votes, the City Council on Feb 28, 1929, passed 'by-law No. 1961 to provide for the exemptions of certain lands and buildings set apart and used exclusively for divine worship.'

"Under this ordinance each and every church is assessed annually. This includes such institutions as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Salvation Army and parochial schools. A church is allowed exemptions on the actual ground occupied by the church buildings, plus 50 per cent more for approaches and walks. Any additional land is taxed. The improvements are exempt provided the buildings have been used only for divine worship. The rectories or residences of the ministers are taxed in the same way as any other residential property. In the case of church schools and colleges the improvements and land on which the buildings stand, plus 100 per cent for playgrounds, &c., are exempt. Schools with large athletic fields pay taxes on the land held beyond the surplus named. There are 284 churches and missions in Vancouver, with a population of 350,000. After each one of these is assessed and the church authorities have received notice of the assessment, each church must file an affidavit with the City Council, in which an authority

of each church must make oath that the church has not been used in any way for any other purpose than that of a house of divine worship. Accompanying this affidavit must be a plan or blue print of the church, showing the amount of land covered by the church building. This affidavit is an application for exemption. The City Council sits as a court, the Mayor presiding, to consider each one on its merits. These affidavits must be filed with the Council on or before Dec. 15 each year. Any church failing to make this formal application for exemption must pay taxes. No case can be reopened after Dec. 15. The affidavit sets forth that the church has not been used for any purpose whatsoever except as a house of divine worship. The preacher may enjoy wide latitude in expressing his own opinion of the city or government officials from his pulpit. But the church cannot permit the building or its pulpit to be used by professional reformers for political propaganda or for raising funds for any purpose except what legitimately belongs to a house of divine worship. A church cannot engage in political activities or commerce and escape taxation. Vancouver says, in effect, to its churches: 'Go into politics and into commerce if you like, but when you do you pay taxes on all your property.'"

**SOUTH AFRICA**—The South African budget, which was presented by Mr. Havenga, Minister of Finance on March 26, revealed that the total revenue from existing sources for the coming year was expected to fall short of that for the current year by about \$5,000,000. The admitted depression upon which this estimate was based was said to be due to a collapse of world prices for primary products, but comparatively speaking the economic position of South Africa was declared to be sound. The anticipated deficit was to be met in part by a 20 per cent increase in the income tax, and in part by applying this year's surplus.

The final debate on the Woman Franchise bill, which occurred on

April 11, revealed the same cutting across party lines that has marked such discussions and votes in other countries where equal suffrage has been adopted. On the floor and in the voting, leaders and the rank and file of each party were vigorously opposed to each other. General Smuts and General Hertzog, the opposition and the government leaders, both favored the measure, though admitting that it was full of anomalies. The bill was passed by a majority of thirty-nine.

**A**USTRALIA—A controversy which reveals the relationship of Australia to the mother country has been

roused by the reported intention of the Commonwealth Government to second the appointment of an Australian as Governor-General. Objection to such a step is taken on the ground that the Governor-General is the King's representative, and to appoint an Australian would therefore weaken the imperial connection. The report mentioned Sir Isaac Isaacs of Australia as being favored by the position if an Australian should be appointed.

The elections in the State of Western Australia resulted in defeat of the Labor party and the formation of a Nationalist Country party coalition Cabinet.

## FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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**T**HE FRENCH BUDGET, which normally should have been voted last December, was finally passed on April 16 after going four times from the House to the Senate. Even the change of the fiscal year to April 1 did not prevent a vote of a *douzième provisoire*, the well known provisional monthly credit that used to be a classic feature of past budgets. At last, after wrangling over a bill providing for an increase in pensions of State officials, the two Houses agreed on a budget of 50,465,000,000 francs with a balance of only 66,912,000 francs, the highest budget yet voted by the French Parliament; 120 deputies and 17 senators voted against it. These were mostly Socialists with whom, of late, it has been a rule not to accept "capitalistic" financial laws.

After the budget was passed the government presented a bill calling for a massive reduction of taxes amounting to 1,900,000,000 francs (\$72,000,000) to become effective in 1931. Paul Reynaud, Minister of Finance, stated that the reductions were necessary in order to stimulate economic activity, to lower the abnormally high fiduciary

circulation, and to permit business interests to obtain long-term loans.

In his speech of April 25, he gave interesting indications of the method he intends to use to check inflation and to reduce the growing reserves in foreign specie now held by the Bank of France and acquired by the Poincaré Government when it was preparing the stabilization of the franc. Continuation of this policy, according to M. Reynaud, has established a flow of foreign gold into France to the extent of 18,724,000,000 francs' worth of pounds sterling, guilders, and other moneys now held in the bank's vaults. This was acquired by the printing of bank notes and therefore was reflected in a corresponding rise in circulation, to which he attributed the high cost of living in France. To reduce the circulation the bill provides for a 50 per cent reduction in the stamp tax on bourse operations and a reduction from 25 to 18 per cent on the income tax on holders of foreign securities.

The Finance Minister's theory is that this reduction will lead French investors to buy foreign securities, to do which they must have recourse to



the Bank of France to obtain foreign moneys to make their purchases. By this means the reserve of foreign specie will dwindle. "With each export of gold," declared M. Reynaud, "there will be a corresponding destruction of bank notes—a policy which already has been put into operation by the Bank of France." To the charge that he was favoring foreign securities to the detriment of the French he replied that a reduction on overtaxed French securities also was contained in the measure.

The parties of the Left, in spite of many objections embodied in a counter-measure, proposed by the Socialists, consented finally to vote the government's tax reduction bill. The Right agreed, at the urgent request of the government, to accept the often mentioned national insurance bill, which has been several times voted on, several times amended, and in spite of all, is still considered by many critics both unsound and dangerous. The Tardieu Cabinet, which inherited it from its predecessors, succeeded in having it adopted and the Minister of Labor, supported by several speakers of the Left, defended it as one of the most important measures of social legislation ever passed by Parliament.

Thus the platform promises of the Tardieu cabinet were partially redeemed. When the Chamber meets again it will be confronted with another part of that program, dealing with the development of the industrial resources of the country and the improvement of roads, ports and electrical works. This is to be paid for out of the accumulation of surplus amassed since 1926 by M. Poincaré and M. Chéron. This surplus proved in some respects a serious handicap to the nation since it falsified the whole economic situation of the country and aroused the citizens to desire increases of salaries, pensions and other governmental favors.

On April 26 the French Parliament adjourned, not to resume work until June 3. This represents a well earned breathing spell both for the cabinet of M. Tardieu and for the members of the

two Houses who, whatever else may be charged against them, may not be accused of idleness.

In spite of the undoubted accomplishments of the Tardieu Ministry it has not been able to disarm its enemies on the left. A tendency to vote for those who claim to represent the most advanced ideas was strikingly illustrated in some of the nine by-elections which have taken place in the last few months. Except for three districts where the majority parties triumphed, two in Brittany and one in the Ardennes, all the seats were won by the Cartel opposition, especially the Socialist wing, which gained seats in districts as wide apart as the departments of Somme, Dordogne, Ariège and Eure-et-Loir. The Conservatives note, however, that these Socialist gains are made mainly at the expense of the Radical Socialists who seemed to be losing their hold on the masses.

An especially painful defeat for the Radicals was that at Bergerac where, on March 30, a Socialist defeated a Radical-Socialist with the collusion of the Conservatives. This failure to observe the traditional discipline between parties of the Left aroused a great deal of bitterness and revived the old controversy over proportional representation which the Radicals abandoned in 1928 and which some Socialists seem willing to try again as the only fair and scientifically accurate mode of balloting.

On April 16 Aristide Briand completed his fifth year as Foreign Minister. During these five years of office eleven cabinets have come and gone, M. Briand remaining unshaken at his post. This is a record equaled or surpassed, it is asserted, by only three other Foreign Ministers since the time of Vergennes: Talleyrand, Guizot and Delcassé. M. Briand's prestige both as an orator and as a diplomat has not ceased to rise. However, it must be stated that his popularity outside France is greater than within where the so-called "National Republicans" look askance at his policies and distrust his optimistic pacifism. The Extreme

Nationalists have never ceased to vilify him. The parties of the Left, on the other hand, consider him their special spokesman in the ministries that they oppose, and take due credit for all the successes that he has scored in favor of peace.

While Franco-American relations remain politically most friendly, the economic divergences crop out to disturb the mutual good-will. Now it is the American producers who complain of the French tariff, and again it is the French that object to American protectionism. While the intervention of the French Government is credited with having obtained the substitution of reasonable duties on American cars for the prohibitive rates at first proposed, the intervention of Ambassador Edge is considered responsible for the restoration of the original tariff on lace. The proposed tariff caused the 50,000 Calais workers to stage huge manifestations against measures which threatened starvation to them and their families. These tariff differences and others that have arisen over duties on French lingerie and American canned fish make especially timely the contemplated Franco-American commission which is to examine and, if possible, solve the various problems of a commercial nature that disturb both American and French business men. It is expected that these experts, besides discussing the double taxation problem will lay the groundwork for a series of separate accords or for a general trade treaty.

Ambassador Edge, whose trip of industrial investigation over France has been followed with keen interest by the French press, has done a great deal to facilitate a rapprochement in economic matters between the two countries.

Among the manifestations of good-will between France and the United States must be mentioned the decided effort being made by the new Under-Secretary of State for *Tourisme* to remove some of the obstacles to travel that have recently been complained of by visitors. The embarkation tax on

tourists entering the country has been only slightly reduced, and the same is true of the luxury tax in hotels and restaurants, but these are steps in the right direction.

Another gesture of friendship has been the solemn inauguration, on April 28, in the presence of President Doumergue, of the American House in the *Cité Universitaire*. This unit of the group of buildings for students of all nations, situated on the site of the old fortifications near the Parc Montsouris, was erected for the housing of 300 American students who will live there in close contact with students of other nationalities under the direction of Senator André Honnorat who, for many years, has devoted himself to this cause. The building was made possible by the generosity of a group of Americans, twenty universities and other organizations such as the Carnegie Foundation.

The conquest of Algeria was undertaken by France in 1830 to exact retribution for an insult to the French Consul, committed in 1827 by the Dey of Algiers. The city of Algiers was captured on July 5 and the work of conquest continued for about thirty years. Today Algeria is the proudest possession of France, one of her most prosperous and civilized colonies, completely pacified and inhabited by a population which rejoices in its status as an integral part of the French nation. To celebrate the centenary of this conquest Parliament adjourned and a large number of Deputies and Senators went to Algeria with President Doumergue to attend the festivities which comprised a spectacular display of French power on land and sea, as well as manifestations of the loyalty of the natives to the country which has assured them a hundred years of peace and prosperity.

**BELGIUM**—The celebration of the centenary of Belgium as a nation was marked on April 26 by the inauguration of the Colonial, Maritime and Flemish Art Exhibition at Antwerp under the presidency of King Albert.

# THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

By *SIDNEY B. FAY*

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**A**FTER TWO WEEKS of debate in the German Reichstag—during which the small majority won by Chancellor Bruening early in April steadily dwindled—on the program for financial reform and agrarian relief proposed by the Bruening Cabinet, the decisive vote came on April 14. Absent members of the Reichstag were hurried to Berlin by airplane, and sick members were brought from their beds. Armed with Article 48 of the Constitution and a threat to dissolve the Reichstag, Chancellor Bruening won in the final decisive votes a good majority in favor of the agrarian law. But in the vote on the tax law, the Nationalists split. Hugenberg, Oberfohren and a minority of the party did another somersault and voted against the government. Count Westarp and a majority faction defied the dictation of the party leaders and voted in favor of the Cabinet program. As a result, the tobacco and beer clauses of the tax bill were passed, but only by the narrow vote of 230 to 224. The Cabinet, however, was saved and the tired members could depart in peace for their Easter vacations. The bills were ratified by the Reichsrat and signed by President von Hindenburg on April 30.

Bruening had to face the inevitable opposition of the National Socialists (Hitler's Fascist group) and the Communists, the two extremist parties who reject parliamentarianism altogether and want a dictatorship, the former after the style of Mussolini, and the latter after that of Stalin and the Bolsheviks. To these was added the formidable opposition of the Social Democrats, who have become relatively moderate, having abandoned much of

the pure Marxian doctrine, and who are more than twice as strong as any other single political group. To secure a small working majority he had to secure the support of the next largest party, the German Nationalists. This support he gained by his bill for the amelioration of the condition of the agrarian landlords. He further won over the Bavarian People's party by agreeing that the beer tax should be increased only 45 per cent instead of 75 per cent.

To understand the difficulties which the Bruening Cabinet had to face during April and the early days of May, it is convenient to recall the various political groups in the present Reichstag. Counting from the reactionary Right to the radical Left, they are:

National Socialists (Hitler).....	12
German Nationalists (Hugenberg)...	64
Bavarian People's party.....	17
German Peasants' party.....	8
Economic party .....	23
Centre .....	61
People's party .....	45
Democrats .....	25
Social Democrats .....	152
Communists .....	54
Four other small parties.....	36
	491

The tax law which was so bitterly contested was made necessary by the fact that past Cabinets for several years have allowed small deficits to accumulate in the extraordinary budget. These had increased to such a total that the government could not meet its running expenses and other obligations unless it raised at once supplementary taxes in addition to those provided for in the 1929 budget. The difficulty in passing a law lay in the fact that each party wanted to avoid taxes which would fall mainly on their own constituents. The agrarians and in-



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dustrialists were opposed to increasing the income and turnover taxes; the Social Democrats objected to all tariffs on food which would raise the cost of living for the worker; the Bavarians were alarmed at an increase of the beer tax which would bear most heavily on one of their most important export products and articles of consumption.

Bruening therefore had to bargain with each of the groups. The resulting law is rather a hodge-podge which has no very scientific basis and which satisfies no one completely. The best that can be said for it is that it enabled the Cabinet to survive the crisis and to avoid a general election at this time when there is so much unemployment and so much pessimism over the heavy reparations burdens of the Young plan. Elections under such conditions would be likely to increase the power of the two extremist parties which are nourished on discontent, the National Socialists and the Communists. Without going into the details of the tax increases, it is sufficient to indicate the expected increase from each source:

	Marks.
Beer .....	150,000,000
Benzin (gasoline) .....	77,000,000
Tobacco and sugar .....	30,000,000
Mineral waters .....	40,000,000
Tea and coffee .....	50,000,000
Tax on industry .....	50,000,000
Turnover tax .....	110,000,000
Special tax on large depart- ment stores .....	27,000,000
	<hr/> 534,000,000

The new law also provides for a sliding tariff on grain by which the Cabinet may increase the rate for grain to keep up the domestic price for the benefit of the German landlords and peasants.

During the adjournment of the Reichstag the Cabinet worked out the details of the promised agrarian law for aiding the East Elbian landlords. These are in a sad economic plight because of the frontier changes made by the Versailles Treaty, of the reduction of available Polish Summer laborers and consequent increased cost of farm labor, but above all on account of the low price of farm products and the very heavy burden of existing mortgages. In some respects the plight of these East Elbian farmers is not unlike that of the American farmer in the Middle West. But in Germany there is the additional political consideration that if the German farmers and landlords go bankrupt their farms may fall into the hands of Poles and the precious regions be politically lost as far as German national interests are concerned.

The Reichstag reassembled on May 2, faced with consideration of the 1930 budget and of the Cabinet's proposals for agrarian relief in the eastern provinces. The budget requirements as submitted by Dr. Moldenhauer, Minister of Finance, amounted to \$2,685,000,000. The budget was immediately referred to the Reichstag's main commission for examination by sixty of the Deputies.

The question of chief political interest during the parliamentary recess was as to the future of the German Nationalist party, which split over the vote on the tax law. Bitter recriminations have taken place. The Hugenberg group, though forming a minority in the party, charge the Westarp group with insubordination and party disloyalty, because they did not follow the dictation of the official party leader. Count Westarp retorts that Hugenberg endangered the existence of the Cabinet and consequently that of the proposed agrarian legislation so dear to



the heart of the Nationalists. At a party caucus on April 25 four-fifths of the members voted to endorse Hugenberg's views. But that did not permanently restore harmony, and it meant that the more moderate Nationalists might abandon Hugenberg and his doctrinaire opposition to the Young plan and social legislation, to join with the People's party in building up a good-sized group of moderate conservatives as a normal opposition group to the large Social Democratic party. With the reassembling of the Reichstag the situation became more acute. At a meeting on May 1 the thirty members under Count Westarp, who voted with the government, openly defied Dr. Hugenberg by their determination to reserve for themselves complete liberty of action in the Reichstag. At the opening of Parliament it became evident that the existence of Bruening's Cabinet in the next weeks would depend on the attitude of this insurgent group.

The recent conflict between the Federal Minister of Interior, Dr. Severing, and the local Thuringian Minister, Dr. Frick, has subsided peacefully with Severing's withdrawal from the Cabinet and with Frick's promise not to introduce Fascist elements into the Thuringian police force. Severing's successor as Minister of Interior in the Bruening Cabinet is Dr. Wirth.

Much indignation has been expressed in Germany over the reported sale by the Crown Prince of one of Menzel's pictures. It was painted about 1854 at the height of the artist's ability, and is particularly prized for patriotic reasons in Germany because it represents Bluecher and Wellington greeting one another on the field of Waterloo. It was apparently sold to a Dutch art dealer named Goudstikker for a sum which any of the larger German museums would have gladly paid in order to keep it in Germany.

During the past two years the Berlin Municipal Council, in spite of its limited funds and the high rate of interest which it has to pay for loans, has spent several millions of marks in buying up real estate to provide in the

future for parks, school playgrounds and other worthy municipal enterprises. Though the purposes are laudable it is doubtful whether the moment was opportune, and more than doubtful whether due prudence and even common honesty have been observed on the part of some of the City Fathers. It is charged that far more was paid for land than was necessary, that real-estate agents were allowed to get huge rake-offs, and that the councilor in special charge of the operations, Herr Busch, has himself not been free from corruption. Busch has denied the charges, but has hitherto been too ill to appear in court.

Paul von Hindenburg, on April 26, celebrated the fifth anniversary of his election by popular vote to the German presidency.

**A**USTRIA—Ex-Chancellor Seipel announced just before Easter his withdrawal from the leadership of the Christian Socialist Party in Austria. A couple of times before this he has declared his intention of retiring from politics, so that his Easter announcement lost a little of its force. This time, however, the indications are that he really means what he says. He has been steadily losing the great influence which he once enjoyed not only in Austria as a whole but also in his own party, some members of which recently refused to vote as he desired in regard to a labor law in the Austrian Parliament.

Monseigneur Seipel claimed to have been instrumental in the election of the present chancellor, Johann Schober, whom he expected to use as a tool in the interests of the Catholics and the Conservatives. Seipel's supposed wire-pulling behind the scenes last Fall and Winter contributed much toward the unrest and rumors of revolution which disturbed the land. For many months Fascist and Socialist private military organizations clashed frequently and seemed to threaten the country with the danger of civil war.

But Herr Schober has shown that he is no man's catspaw. By a skillful com-

bination of compromise and firmness he has scored one political success after another. He has given Austria a happy condition of internal harmony and security such as she has not enjoyed since 1914. People now call him "Lucky Hans," but it is certain that good common sense has been largely responsible for his many successes. He solved the troublesome question of constitutional reform in a way which gave moderate satisfaction to the Conservatives without antagonizing too sharply the Socialists. In January he journeyed to the Hague and secured an annulment of Austria's reparations obligations. A few weeks later he went to Rome and signed a treaty of friendship with the Italian Government which has reduced friction between the two countries and has blocked any Roman Catholic intrigues which Seipel may have had in mind. Later still Schober brought to a successful close the long-pending negotiations with Germany for a commercial

treaty. And finally on April 27 he left on visits to Paris and London, primarily to assure those countries of the internal stability of Austria, and to thank them for their post-war financial assistance, and secondarily, it was reported unofficially, to negotiate a loan to provide Austria with much-needed capital.

A rather interesting sidelight on conditions in Austria is given in a recent arrangement with France by which 15,000 Austrian workmen receive employment in France for the next three years, provided, however, that these men are not employed to build fortifications on the German frontier.

**HOLLAND**—The world's largest lock, according to press dispatches, was opened on April 29 by Queen Wilhelmina, at a point where the North Sea Canal cuts across North Holland to Amsterdam. The canal will enable the largest liners to reach Amsterdam.

## SPAIN AND ITALY

By *ELOISE ELLERY*

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**T**HE QUESTION of monarchy or republic (upon which further light is thrown by articles on King Alfonso on pages 475-485 of this magazine) has been the outstanding issue of Spanish politics during the past month. Like a pendulum the swing has been first to one side and then to the other. On April 13 Alcalá Zamora, a leader of the Liberal party and three times a member of Liberal Cabinets before the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, speaking before a large and enthusiastic audience at Valentia, declared that he had lost all faith in the existing Spanish monarchy and that, as it was not possible to change the dynasty, he had decided to join the ranks of the republicans. Attempts were being made, he continued, to arrange matters between the King and certain ex-Ministers of the old constitu-

tional régime, but they had forgotten that there was a Spanish nation which could no longer be ignored. At the banquet which followed this address, the announcement of Marino Gomez, a professor in the University of Valentia and a man of great influence, that he, too, had become a republican added greatly to the enthusiasm.

A week later a monarchist demonstration, prepared some weeks in advance, was held in a new bull ring in Madrid. Telegrams of greeting were reported to have been received from all parts of the world and trains arrived crowded with delegates from the fifty-two provinces of Spain. The speakers included Thomas Deza, a representative of labor; the Marquis de Santa Cruz, dean of Spanish nobility, and Antonio Giocoechea, former Minister

of the Interior. The last named, making the principal address, said:

I am speaking in behalf of the nobles of Spain, who are in the closest possible touch with the workers and farmers, who fare best under monarchical rule. Spain is not ready for a republic and wishes to keep Alfonso.

England's monarchy was founded by the King and nobles, but Spain's by the desire of the people in 1876. We do not want Spain for the King but the King for Spain. The country needs Alfonso. Of all republican groups there is only one that has real standing, and that is the Socialists. Socialism would be the worst thing for the people. I wish Socialists would be more malleable and forget republicanism, for their ideas need not be lost in the monarchy, since the royal family represents only another socialism.

The public's greatest deceivers are those who speak of a conservative republic. In 1871 there probably was a majority of monarchists in France's Parliament, but a speaker told them the surest way to end republican talk forever would be to have a republic, which would be so absurd that it could not last long. The republicans won by one vote and in less than a year threw out the Church and everything for which the monarchy stood had gone.

When the Presidents of Chile and Argentina were refused Nobel prizes because they were dictators, it showed that dictatorships are possible under a republic and that ending a monarchy does not end the danger of dictatorships.

We want King, Church and liberty in Spain.

During the same week the leader of the Left Wing Socialist party in Madrid made a sharp attack on the King, declaring that he was "cruelly disloyal" when he started the dictatorship and that he "blinded the nation and put it under the direction of Ministers who robbed it."

The King on April 27 was again assailed by Señor Alvarez, a former leader of the Monarchistic-Reformist party and now regarded as one of the few remaining politicians able to lead a conservative republican party. His demand was that a national assembly be called to draft a new Constitution and consider whether Spain should be a monarchy or a republic and that the King should be obliged to abide by the decision. As it was evident that the speaker had failed to define his own

position, some one in the audience shouted "And what are you, a monarchist or a republican?" He replied, "I cannot say which I am, as there are both monarchists and republicans in my party and I must wait and see where the party wishes to stand." This answer is symptomatic of the whole situation in that large numbers of people apparently are not sure what they do want or perhaps what they can get.

Two other things are also evident, first, that there is a lack of unified leadership; second, that in spite of some repression there was for a time a considerable degree of freedom of speech. In this connection it is to be noted that Professor Unamuno, recently returned from exile, has been reinstated in his chair at the University of Salamanca and that Colonel Francisco Macia, who led the attempted Catalan rebellion in 1926, has been pardoned. An instance of severe repression, on the other hand, was the action of the police in handling a crowd assembled to welcome several men who had been pardoned after a plot to assassinate the King. The police, apparently quite without provocation, charged the crowd, wounding a number of persons. The affair is reported to have aroused great indignation.

Further disorder took place in connection with Unamuno's arrival in Madrid. A republican demonstration at the railway station was charged by the police to the injury of a number of persons, while, during an address by Unamuno in a Madrid theatre on May 4 in favor of a republic, fighting broke out between the monarchists and the republicans and was renewed in the streets outside. Continued outbreaks among university students the following day, in which several persons were killed and some forty injured, led the government to order the closing of the university, including the medical school, for an indefinite period.

Don Jaime of Bourbon, Carlist leader and claimant to the Spanish throne, has in the meanwhile set forth his views, which are not complimentary to

the present order. Without pretending to be the savior of Spain, he declares that "politically, economically and socially Spain asks for a new order. Such parliamentarism as it is trying to restore would be ruinous for Spain. It is impossible, for the Cortes would not work but would merely talk. Spain needs more and closer collaboration of the people and the governors. We shall all begin soon a new page in our history."

What may be a step toward the holding of parliamentary elections and the return to a more normal government is seen in an official decree providing for registration on Nov. 15. This registration is described as a census of the voters and the notice explains that if the government had revised the old census, instead of ordering a new one, it would have delayed an election for another ten months.

**I**TALY—The recent visit of Count Bethlen to Rome has called attention to the apparently growing friendly relations between Italy and Hungary. The Fascist press in commenting on it stresses the support of Italy for Hungary's desires for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon in the direction of restoring to Hungary some of her lost territory. The press also reports as under discussion an alliance of Italy, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria.

The strengthening of Fascism within Italy is seen in recent decisions of the Fascist Grand Council. They provide for the better organization of university Fascist groups and for furnishing them with rifles. At the same time appointment to the staffs of both universities and secondary schools are to be made from Fascist associations, preferably from members of the party of at least five years' standing.

The importance and power of the party is brought before the people in spectacular form by the "Fascist levy," the ceremony at which the members of the successive junior departments are promoted to the main organization. Boys become members, it will be recalled, first of the Balilla before the

age of 14. At 15 they are promoted to the Avanguardisti legions. At 18 they pass from the Avanguardisti into the Fascist party itself, thus becoming full-fledged members. The ceremony this year took place on April 27, and as usual was performed in each provincial capital, and with much pomp and circumstance. The Fascists are drawn up in military array in the presence of the local Fascist authorities, the members of the Avanguardisti are marched before them, take a solemn oath to serve their country to the best of their ability and are then given rifles to symbolize their reaching man's estate and their fitness to become active members of Fascismo's fighting forces. Similar ceremonies mark the promotion of the Balilla boys into the Avanguardisti, except that they do not receive rifles. The occasion was marked this year by special reference to Italy's past in that the day was also selected for the official opening of the six months' tribute to the poet Vergil.

The military character of the event was also emphasized, in that the day of the "Fascist levy" was chosen for the launching of five new units of the Italian Navy. It is pointed out that it was by chance that these new units should have been completed so soon after the London conference, but as a matter of fact they were all started before the London conference was thought of, and their launching is therefore not to be ascribed to the failure of France and Italy to reach a naval accord. But the fact that they were all launched on the same day and that the day chosen was that of the "Fascist levy" was not an accident. The purpose, as one writer put it, was obviously to make the young Fascisti more "navy-minded."

Besides the "Fascist levy" and the Easter festivities Italy celebrated this past month the anniversary of the founding of Rome. Taking the year 753 B. C. as the point of reckoning, it was the 2683d birthday of the city. It was celebrated as usual not only at Rome but throughout Italy as a national holiday, known as the Feast of



Labor, while the press took occasion to laud the glories of ancient Rome in connection with her future possibilities and to exult in the change from the devastating influences of a "utopian socialism" and "fatalistic indifference" to the "unifying concepts" of the new order. On the other hand, critics of Fascism, especially those outside Italy, maintain that labor under the new corporations is anything but prosperous and contented, while there is growing unemployment and an agrarian crisis.

Regulations confirming the rights of non-Catholics in Italy and carrying out the laws passed last year were recently made public. They provide, in addition to other things, for the exemption from military service of non-Catholic clergymen, for religious aid to non-Catholic soldiers, for the postponement of their military service to students in non-Catholic schools, and for the exemption

of the children of non-Catholics from religious instruction. The new law makes provisions also for instruction in a special religion within the school premises when the number of non-Catholic students is sufficiently large to warrant it. Schools in non-Catholic communities may be subsidized by the State or by the municipality.

The Italian Government announced last November that Americans of Italian birth might return to Italy and remain there a year without being subject to military service except in time of war. A recent case involving a naturalized American citizen brought the question to the fore again, and assurances were given by the Italian Ambassador to the United States that his government intended to abide by its promise, so that Americans of Italian birth may return to Italy without fear of being called to army service.

## EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By *FREDERIC A. OGG*

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**F**EW, IF ANY, EVENTS in Central and Southeastern Europe during the last six weeks aroused as much interest—indeed, stirred as much excited discussion—as the April visit of Premier Bethlen to Premier Mussolini in Rome. No explanation of the reasons for the trip was given in advance, and even after the Count's return home on April 15 neither Hungarian nor Italian Government newspapers were able to do more than name a few of the subjects discussed and hint darkly at others. In an atmosphere of uncertainty, there was, of course, no end of speculation in chancelleries and press throughout Continental Europe, and particularly in the States of the Little Entente, where the query most often heard was, "What is Mussolini up to now in Eastern Europe?"

As far as could be gathered, the mat-

ters talked over by the two Premiers at their protracted conferences were chiefly commercial and financial. The Italo-Hungarian commercial treaty of June, 1929, has already yielded a decided increase of commercial intercourse between the countries, and it is reported that a new agreement on somewhat different lines was discussed, chiefly with a view to adjustment to recent trade settlements which Italy has reached with Austria and Rumania. It is reported, too, that Premier Bethlen pledged Hungary's aid, by a favorable routing of trade, in developing the former Hungarian port of Fiume which the poet D'Annunzio seized for Rome. Italy's object in this connection is to draw away trade from the Greek port of Saloniki, where Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have free, though little used, zones.

Premier Bethlen is said also to have

thanked the Italian Government officially for aid given the Hungarian cause at The Hague reparations conference, and we have it from the Fascist press that Mussolini pledged further assistance, in the form of support for Hungary's campaign for revision of the Treaty of Trianon. In addition, it seems that Italian backing was promised for a Hungarian international loan of \$105,000,000. Small wonder that the ears of every diplomat and foreign office attaché in Central Europe and the Balkans were to the ground while the conference proceeded, or that mid-Europe has been set agog by rumors, speculations and semi-official reports which have been going the rounds since they terminated!

As to the perennial demand for a revision of the Trianon Treaty, the nationalist press commented copiously and indignantly at the middle of April on the manner in which the fate of Eastern Europe was decided at the close of the war, as revealed in the recently published diary of the American delegation's official stenographer, David Hunter Miller, now of the State Department. "It is revolting," declared the *Magyarsag*, "to see how frivolously and with how little knowledge the fate of a whole country was determined." Other papers charge that the disposition of millions of people was settled in five minutes without assembled statesmen even glancing at the material submitted by the Hungarian delegation. Only Secretary Lansing comes off without blame—this because he objected to the handing over of Hungarian territory inhabited by Hungarians to Czechoslovakia and Rumania and warned his associates of what the results would be. In referring to the later peace efforts of M. Benes, the *Pester Lloyd*, official mouthpiece of the Budapest Foreign Office, strongly hinted that a peace founded on the present state of Central Europe is hardly worth preserving; and this spirit increasingly pervades the Hungarian revisionist movement.

Baron Ludwig Hatvany, a novelist and political writer who, on his return

to Budapest nine months ago, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment (afterward reduced to a year and a half) has been granted amnesty by the Regent, Admiral Horthy. He had served half of his sentence and had paid a fine of \$27,000. His offense was a series of articles attacking the present government.

A less commendable act of grace was the declaration by a "military court of honor," in early April, that Count Louis Windischgraetz, convicted a few years ago of wholesale falsification of French banknotes, committed no dishonorable act, was actuated "only by patriotic motives," and is entitled to ask compensation from the Hungarian State for the injustice done him. Long ago, invisible hands opened the jail door and released the Prince "on account of his poor health"; and, in view of his clearly established guilt, the recent court pronouncement is extraordinary indeed. It is but fair to add that the general officer commanding the Hungarian Army, M. Janky, resigned rather than lend his name to the proceeding.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**—Early in 1929, a proposal emanated from Slovakia that the four Catholic parties having some importance in the republic be formed into a bloc. The plan stirred a good deal of discussion, but nothing resulted. The loss of numerous seats at the ensuing general election and the all-round weakening of the Parliamentary position of the Catholic forces have served, however, to bring the idea forward again; and this time it bids fair to receive more favorable consideration. The four parties are: (1) the Czechoslovak People's party, recruited among the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia; (2) the German Christian-Socialist party, composed of the German Catholic elements mainly in Bohemia and Moravia; (3) the Slovak People's party, led by Father Hlinka in Slovakia, and (4) a small Hungarian Catholic party calling itself Christian-Socialist and found chiefly in constituencies in Slovakia along the Hungarian

frontier. Czech Agrarians and German Agrarians have of late been able to work together, and also Social Democrats of the two racial stripes. But up to now the Catholics of the different nationalities have remained a divided force, as is illustrated by the fact that while the Czechoslovak People's party supports and is represented in the present government, the three other groups are aligned with the Opposition.

Shortly before the middle of April the Bratislava Court of Appeals reaffirmed the sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment imposed in 1929 on Professor Voiteich Tuka, the Slovak scholar, on a charge of high treason and military espionage. The case has roused more interest internationally than any other of its kind in recent European history. Professor Tuka was formerly a Deputy in the Czechoslovak Parliament and the real leader of the Slovak People's (Catholic) party. But his manipulations in the interest of Hungary have cost him not only his eminent position but also the good-will of most of his former academic and political associates. There was some expectation that inasmuch as his influence has largely disappeared, President Masaryk would extend amnesty to him or at least that the Court of Appeals would reduce the original sentence. Apparently, however, his offense was deemed too great; and not unnaturally, since the kind of activities which he carried on would, if successful, not only disrupt the Czechoslovak State but probably provoke bloodshed on a large scale in Central Europe.

United action by all European agrarian interests against the United States, Canadian and Argentine wheat production has been urged by Dr. Hodza, president of the international agrarian Bureau and former Czechoslovak Minister of Agriculture, and on April 18 it was announced from Prague that



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a conference of European agrarian leaders was about to be called, not only to agree on the principle of resisting New World competition but to induce the interested European States to establish uniform customs tariffs against wheat exported from the three Western States named. Russia is not included in the plan.

To help Czechoslovak farmers and at the same time assure itself that unemployment benefits are expended for the purposes for which they were designed, the Ministry of Agriculture has decided to pay them largely in milk, bread, vegetables and meat, instead of in cash. This will prevent the expenditure of a large part of the dole on drink, as the authorities suspect has happened in the past. Tickets will be issued by the labor exchanges to the workless which will be exchangeable for food.

**POLAND**—After permitting Parliament to pass the annual budget at the end of March, Marshal Pilsudski caused the body to be prorogued for an indefinite period, probably until October, and at the same time installed in office a Cabinet, headed by Colonel Slawik, which entirely represents the

dictator's views but has only minority support in Parliament and the country. The uppermost political question nowadays is whether the majority Opposition elements will be able, at a time when Parliament is not actually in session, to force a dissolution, and whether, if they can, a new election will contribute anything to stabilize the relations of Cabinet and Sejm on more conciliatory lines.

The need of a better ordered political situation is at this time peculiarly acute because of the heavy economic tasks facing the country. It is true that a good many economic gains have been realized since Pilsudski's *coup d'état* of 1926—for example, the stabilization of the currency, the development of the new seaport of Gdynia and the conclusion of various commercial treaties. But the economic and financial situation still calls for efforts which can hardly be made effectively except by a government not only vigorous but harmonious and stable. The German commercial treaty has not been a success; Russian relations have also proved a failure commercially; and in the last three years there has been an unfavorable trade balance of \$160,000,000. Furthermore, no immediate improvement is in sight; the experts say that the Summer months will witness an even greater decline in production and exports and an increase in imports.

Rarely or never do the Spring months go by without a goodly crop of war alarms in Central and Eastern Europe, and in most of the stories that reach the outside world Poland and Russia figure most prominently. This has been true in recent weeks; April and early May were prolific of reports that war on the East Polish frontier was an immediate probability. Ordinarily, such rumors are not taken very seriously, even in Poland, where it is believed that Moscow simply finds it necessary in the difficult Spring season, with the peasants idle and waiting to begin work in the fields and with a seasonal food shortage pinching the townspeople, to fall back on war scares as the most effective means of divert-

ing attention from domestic difficulties. This year, however, more genuine apprehension has been aroused than usual, principally because of the conviction that the Soviet situation is the most unsatisfactory in half a decade, and there were many real sighs of relief when, late in April, an abortive attempt to bomb the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw was handled so energetically by the Polish authorities that Moscow was obliged to accept the explanation given as closing the incident.

In an authorized interview on April 16, Foreign Minister Zaleski declared that Poland desires no war, covets no territory, and is interested solely in improving her economic situation and the living standard of her people.

**RUMANIA**—That the course of true democracy, like that of true love, does not run smoothly has been evidenced afresh by difficulties encountered by the National Peasant Government of M. Maniu in recent weeks. Trouble has come both from outside and from inside the ruling party. The militant Liberal group led by ex-Premier Vintila Bratinaru and an Opposition party headed by General Averescu have by their hostile tactics manoeuvred the government into a position where the only course open to it was—at all events was thought to be—to reintroduce a press censorship inaugurated by its foes when in office, thereby going over in some degree to the policy of the strong hand which it formerly disclaimed and deplored. Stronger support from the Regency has in this way been won. But something of the Ministry's moral position has been sacrificed, and only the next election will show if it has made a good bargain.

Trouble within the party's own ranks has sprung chiefly from a clash of feelings on the subject of Bessarabia. This important area, incorporated in Rumania at the close of the war, is firmly wedded to the monarchy and almost solidly loyal to the National Peasant party. Personal susceptibilities and unsatisfied ambitions have, however, caused various Bessarabian politicians



to be lukewarm in their support, or even to plan opposition; and during April a situation developed which threatened a secession of the Bessarabian contingent of nearly a hundred deputies from the party.

The central figure of the affair was the Deputy Stere, who, although compromised politically by his Germanophile tendencies during the German occupation of Bessarabia, is tremendously popular in the district. To begin with, General Cihosi, Minister of War, found it desirable to leave the Cabinet rather than censure three Generals who walked out of a meeting at which Stere was being praised; and presently Stere himself resigned from the National Peasant party. According to some reports, the malcontent

initiated a movement aimed at the withdrawal of all his colleagues in the Bessarabian bloc. Whether or not he actually did this, the affair revealed that many, if not most, of the group looked with disfavor upon so extreme a step, and the threatened weakening of M. Maniu's parliamentary support did not materialize. The tangle is not, however, fully cleared up, and the Premier still finds the work of reconciliation one of his chief tasks.

By way of reply to the action of the Soviet Government in sending two cruisers through the Dardanelles recently, British and French Admirals have been invited to Bucharest to advise the Rumanian Government on the most suitable site for the construction of a naval base on the Black Sea.

## NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

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THE DAY before the Finnish Parliament's Spring session ended with the adjournment on April 4, an interpellation was presented by the Socialists and Communists. Some days earlier the printing establishment of a Communist sheet in Vaasa, one of the provincial cities, was destroyed by a band of citizens from the adjacent communities who later appeared, thirty-odd strong, to plead guilty to the deed. All parties in the national legislature immediately agreed in condemning the crime. The government took the view that those guilty must be punished according to law. However, having taken this stand, the Agrarian Kallio Cabinet discovered that the perpetrators of the outrage included Agrarian and other conservatives who held that they had acted upon patriotic motives and who insisted furthermore that the government should proceed in a manner which would make unnecessary further instances of this type of "lawful lawlessness." The Parliamentary discussion

was heated and prolonged. Although it culminated in a vote of confidence in the Kallio Ministry, the return to the order of the day was of Parliament's making, and thus the representatives took it upon themselves to administer a rebuke to the Agrarian Cabinet. "The greatest political show of the present session," to use the phrase of the leading Finnish daily, left the present government in the saddle, but the temper of the opposition had been clearly revealed.

In commenting upon the political situation after Parliament adjourned, the Progressive *Helsingin Sanomat* expressed, on April 5, a widespread conviction in stating that only the refusal of the Socialists to step into the breach enables Premier Kallio to remain in office. Because of the weak basis of the Kallio Ministry, the Progressive sheet urged the consideration of the possibility of a coalition. According to a notion which has been discussed from time to time ever since the Socialist

Tanner Ministry was formed in 1927, such a coalition could be formed with the aid of the Socialists, Progressives and the liberally inclined Coalitionists, Agrarians and Swede-Finns. This question was extensively discussed throughout the month, and in view of the independent action of the younger Liberals the political situation is pointing toward a political realignment which is fraught with significant consequences.

**SWEDEN**—Queen Victoria of Sweden was buried on April 12 in the Riddarholm Church after a funeral procession which in magnificence harked back to the Middle Ages.

The relations between capital and labor in the Swedish paper industry caused considerable apprehension during the month. In spite of prolonged negotiations, conducted by a board of arbitration, it was made known on April 14 that the employes had decided to issue an ultimatum to those employers who refused to accept the terms offered. The threatened strike would involve sixteen out of the fifty-five plants that compose the membership of the Paper Manufacturers' Association.

Ever since the spectacular arrival in Sweden in July, 1929, of nearly 1,000 descendants of Swedish settlers who had emigrated to Russia more than a century ago, some of them have shown an inclination to find conditions in Sweden unacceptable. Some have emigrated to Canada, while others have returned to Russia, their native land. The latest defection was reported on April 11, when a group of some twelve former Svensky inhabitants prepared to return to Russia.

Plans were submitted to the government by the royal railway board for the electrification of the trunk line from Stockholm to Malmö. This would give Sweden the largest electrified railway net in the world, or more than 1,000 miles. Sweden already has the second largest net, a total of about 730 miles, which is exceeded only by the United States.

The world's largest water turbines will be installed at the new Vargön power station in the Göta River, and to increase the reserve of water power Lake Vänern, largest lake in Europe outside of Russia, will be raised one-half meter to safeguard the supply of water in Winter, when the consumption is greatest and many rivers are ice-bound.

Sweden now has 427,564 licensed radio receiving sets, or 12.3 per cent more than at the beginning of 1929. In proportion to its population, this means about sixty-eight sets for every 1,000 inhabitants, which brings Sweden, in this respect, to second place among the nations of the world. Apart from the eight major broadcasting stations, Sweden has twenty-three smaller plants which broadcast regularly.

Nearly 1,000,000,000 kroner is the annual gross revenue from Sweden's forests, according to figures presented by Arvid Lindman, head of the Royal Forestry College, at the opening of the national forestry week in Stockholm.

The Soviet Government recalled Alexander Sobolev, its naval attaché at the Stockholm Legation, who is alleged to have refused to comply with the order. The instruction reached him shortly after his private secretary had made an unsuccessful attempt to enter his employer's apartment and ransack it.

**DENMARK**—When the Spring session of the national Parliament came to a close on April 12, the major issue on which the present Legislature was elected a year ago was still unsolved. The disarmament program still remains to be carried out. The main reason for the failure of the Socialist Stauning Ministry to carry out the verdict of the election in April, 1929, was its failure to obtain sufficient support in the Landsting, the upper house. The conservative opposition in the Landsting refused to consider disarmament without reference to Denmark's obligations as a member of the League of Nations, while the government insisted that such considerations had no weight in a question definitely settled

by the electorate, and that unless the upper house could be mended it would be ended. However, constitutional obstacles prevent the dissolution of the upper house until 1934, and consequently M. Stauning found himself effectively blocked for the time being. The Ministry actually ceased to press the disarmament question some two weeks before the end of the session.

According to a statement made public in the closing days of April, the approval by the Danish workers of the program and work of the Socialist-Radical coalition Government has been reflected in a large increase in the dues-paying membership of the Social Democrat party. At the end of 1929 the Socialist membership was 163,193, a gain of 14,073 during the year. All members must join as individuals, as there is no system of collective membership of trade unions or cooperative groups, as in some other countries. About one-third of the members are women. The growth in the country districts has kept pace with that in the urban sections, and there are 1,064 party branches in the kingdom, covering almost all the 1,400 communes.

Denmark on April 28 served notice on the League of Nations that it "cannot be expected to agree to or enter into any agreements in excess of those already embodied in the covenant of the League until a reduction of armaments has taken place." The statement was contained in a memorandum circulated among the delegates to the League of Nations Committee on Arbitration and Security, which began its sessions at Geneva on April 28. The specific point in the Danish declaration was that until a general disarmament convention was in force Denmark would not adhere to a draft convention for financial assistance to a victim of aggression, which comes before the present committee for revision. In a second memorandum on another point on the committee's agenda—a British proposal to transform the League's model treaty for the strengthening of the Council's means of preventing war into a general convention—Denmark

urged that the London treaty be brought into harmony with the Kellogg peace pact. Denmark called attention to a little-observed fact, namely, that the pact contains no provision for its denunciation, and holds it, therefore, to be "shocking" if the committee does not suppress the clause in the model treaty for preventing war and allow signatories the privilege of denouncing it.

**NORWAY**—Norway is already preparing for the Fall election of this year. The radical Labor party issued its program in the early part of April. It differs in one significant respect from the program presented three years ago. In the latter the party proposed to work for the conversion of the majority of Norwegians to the acceptance of its social program. In this year's statement no reference is made to the majority of the nation—an omission interpreted by the conservative elements as a deliberate admission to the effect that the Communists stand ready to proceed, if necessary, without majority support. Definite point was given these charges by the statement made at the party meeting by Professor E. Bull, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs in Norway's first Labor Government. He made it clear that the situation might develop to a point where a minority dictatorship will be necessary. Another indication of the grip of communism was given on April 4, when a Communist student was chosen chairman of the university student organization. The new chairman is at present serving a jail term for his refusal to serve in the army, and the vote shows that the grip of radical ideas among the younger intellectuals is still strong.

Sigurd Ibsen, the only son of Henrik Ibsen, and former Prime Minister of Norway, died in Freiburg on April 14, at the age of 71. As one of the conservative figures in the public life of his country, he was identified with the staunch supporters of continuation of the union between Norway and Sweden. Having served in the diplomatic corps in the late '80s, he entered active

politics a decade later and became Premier in 1903, in which capacity he served for two years. After the dissolution of the union, he withdrew from politics and devoted himself to writing and newspaper work. During the World War he became an ardent supporter of Germany and as a consequence aroused the dislike of the pro-Ally Norwegians.

For some time past the question of the salaries of teachers in primary schools has been a vexatious problem. It was reported on April 11 that several municipalities found themselves at loggerheads with the teachers because of cuts in salaries. In order to solve the difficulties, the State Council decided to propose that the State pay the teachers some 3,000,000 kroner and that the State would agree not to reduce salaries before 1933. The measure was accepted by the teachers.

**ESTONIA**—One of the leading figures in the Estonian independence movement of a dozen years ago, General J. Unt, was fatally shot by an unknown assassin on April 4. The incident was interpreted as a blow delivered by the Communist elements at the existing order. On April 5 the Ministry of the Interior issued an order which outlawed the Workers' party, within which the Communists had been carrying on their propaganda. The week that followed was characterized by tension, and several arrests were made. On April 21 General Jonson succeeded to the post held by the murdered patriot.

M. Kalbus, who has served as Minister of the Interior and Justice in the four Cabinets since 1926, resigned on April 12 because of ill health. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of A. Andekopp, editor of the *Vaba Maa* and well-known member of the Labor party.

**LATVIA**—It was reported from Riga on April 13 that the local authorities had succeeded in discovering a secret Communist meeting in the vicinity of the capital. The meeting was dispersed and thirty-nine persons were arrested. Two days later a Communist

demonstration occurred in the Saeima. The radical Deputies made an attack upon the government and the new President, Albert Kviesis, who had been chosen to the Presidency about a week earlier. The upshot of the incident was the forcible ejection of three Deputies.

**ICELAND**—On June 26-28, 1930, there will be celebrated on the ancient plains of the Althing, thirty miles from Reykjavik, the 1000th anniversary of the founding of the Icelandic Parliament. The Government of Iceland has invited the principal European countries and the United States to participate in this celebration. The Congress of the United States has accepted the invitation and the President has named five commissioners to represent this country and to present to Iceland a statue of Leif Ericsson, who was born there and lived there until he was about 16 years old. Representatives of the royal families of the Scandinavian countries and of Great Britain will attend. The festivities will be opened by divine services and a march to the historic Logberg. Over 20,000 persons have signified their intention to be present. Conferences on Germanic law have been tentatively planned; and the Nordic section of the Parliamentary Conference of Northern Europe convenes in regular session at Reykjavik in July. The King and Queen of Denmark, who are also King and Queen of Iceland, will have a prominent place in the procession.

Norway recently donated 100,000 crowns to Iceland in honor of the Millennium for the benefit of Icelandic students who may desire to conduct research in Norway. Crown Prince Olav heads the Norwegian delegation, which will consist of the Prime Minister, the Speakers of the Storting and fifteen Representatives. The President of the Icelandic Joint Assembly will welcome the guests, who will respond in five-minute addresses in behalf of each country. There will be music, games and historical and art pageants.

This Millennium is a historic landmark in the steady progress of politi-



cal and civil liberty, for Iceland, in 930 and during the Commonwealth, was a free, democratic State when the rest of Europe was moving toward despotism. The settlers of Iceland had fled to this remote and theretofore uninhabited island to escape arbitrary power in Norway, Ireland and Scotland.

The American representatives are Senator Peter Norbeck of South Dakota, chairman; Congressman O. B. Burnett of North Dakota, the sponsor of the Congressional Resolution; O. P. B. Jacobson of Minnesota, F. H. Fljoldal of Michigan and Sveinbjorn Johnson of Illinois.

## THE SOVIET UNION

By *EDGAR S. FURNISS*

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**S**INCE STALIN'S sudden pronouncement of March 2, and the subsequent decrees giving effect to his demand for moderation of economic policy, Soviet Russia has been passing through a period of readjustment in popular opinion and outlook which makes it difficult to appraise with accuracy the trend of events. The change in official policy has been principally a matter of temper and tactics. The government has been at pains to assure the country that the drive toward rapid industrialization and the socialization of agriculture would continue unabated, save with respect to the severity of measures employed to enforce it upon the peasants, and the rapidity with which the habits of the people would be expected to change in conformity with the new forms of social organization.

The combined effect of the various decrees, nevertheless, has been to release the individual in large measure from the strain and pressure of militant communism, and to restore a feeling of personal liberty which was utterly lacking during the first two months of the year. Not only have the agrarian decrees redefined the collective unit to protect certain property rights and encourage the exercise of individual initiative, but they have brought the whole process of collectivization under the control of law and have restored civic rights to multitudes of people who were suffering under the tyranny of local commissars. A decree of April 12 relating to factory management reduced the

pressure of politics in this branch of economic activity by stipulating that executives should be chosen according to merit and without regard to party affiliations, that the workmen should no longer be harassed by Communist groups cajoling or threatening them into demonstrations of loyalty to the Kremlin's policy, and that the party committees should cease to interfere with the operations of industry. Equalization of meat rations between the manual and other workers has done much to improve the lot of non-Communist sections of the population. An order of the Soviet Cabinet puts an end to the confiscation of the tools and machinery of independent artisans, and reduces the pressure of taxation which was crushing this class out of existence. Another order permits physicians to resume private practice. The restoration of private trading in foodstuffs has worked in two directions to increase individual liberty. To the peasant it has provided a mode of escape from the fixed prices and forced sale of the Soviet purchasing agents; to the city dwellers it has reduced the sway of the ration system and the food card, which had been manipulated to the disadvantage of the political nonconformist. Dispatches from the principal cities report that the street markets have reopened everywhere. People without ration cards can now buy not only foodstuffs but textiles and other household articles in great demand.

The sudden change in the attitude of government and party toward religious

observances is a good illustration of the new order of affairs. It was the world-wide protest against religious persecution which, coupled with the growing resentment of the peasants, brought about the transformation of Communist tactics. Especially severe measures had been planned for the suppression of the Easter ceremonies, and the League of the Militant Godless had in preparation a nation-wide demonstration which was intended to submerge the religious festivals of the season beneath a flood of ridicule and abuse. A week before Good Friday, however, the party and the league abandoned these preparations, and gave orders through their journals that their members were to abstain from all active interference with the religious impulses of the people. In a quiet way, by distributing free tickets to the theatres, the working men were tempted to desert the churches; but there were no open-air demonstrations, and the churches were filled to overflowing as in former days. Of chief significance was the announcement on April 18 that the trade union authorities had decided to recognize as holidays April 19, 20 and 21, which were the Easter days; May 30, Ascension Day; Aug. 6, Transfiguration Day, and Dec. 25 and 26, the Christmas feast days. These orders apply to all factories, cooperative enterprises and other institutions in which the five-day week has not been established. Since the authorities had previously let it be known that these historic festivals were no longer to be holidays, the new decree has been accepted by the people as a concession of religious liberty.

There is as yet little reliable evidence as to the effect of this moderation of policy upon the progress of the five-year program. The latest statistical summaries of the development of the collective movement in agriculture deal with the situation as of March 1, 1930. On that date there were 110,000 collectives, embracing more than 14,000,000 individual farms, or 55 per cent of the total number of farms in the Soviet Union, as compared with 17 per cent

on Jan. 1. This was a total of 215,000,000 acres of arable land organized into operating units averaging 2,000 acres each. The number of work animals included in the new organizations was approximately 12,000,000, or half the entire supply of the country; and practically all the modern agriculture machinery in Russia, except that belonging to the State farms, was owned by the collectives. There is no doubt that the movement has lost some of its momentum and, indeed, suffered an absolute decline in scope during the unsettled period of the last six weeks. In the absence of revised statistics it is impossible to estimate the extent of these changes; but the prevailing opinion in government circles and among foreign observers in Russia considers them to have had but negligible effect upon the movement as a whole.

The retardation of the collectivist movement, furthermore, has not interfered with the growth of the State farms, which are becoming a powerful influence in Russian agrarian life. There are now over 100 of these Soviet enterprises, each of them larger than the largest single agricultural unit outside of Russia. One embraces an area of 250,000 acres; 50 have from 90,000 to 150,000 acres each, and 17 have more than 150,000 acres. All are operated by the grain trust, as government enterprises employing every known device of large-scale production. They are sowing 2,750,000 acres this Spring, six times as much as was planted a year ago; and their total grain crop is estimated at 600,000 tons, a sixfold increase over last year's output. The program for the State farms calls for a marketable grain crop of 7,000,000 tons by 1932, and estimates that half this total will be produced by next year's harvest. Recalling that the largest quantity of grain supplied to the Soviet buyers by the kulaks in a single year was the 2,200,000 tons of 1927, it is obvious that the success of the State farms will mean complete freedom for the government from reliance upon private initiative in agriculture. In the meantime these farms exert a pervad-

ing influence in support of the collective movement. The masses of the peasants have watched their progress with amazement, finding in them concrete proof of the superiority of large-scale methods over the primitive strip-farming of the village. The collective movement has spread most rapidly in districts where State farms are in operation, and it is safe to say that continued success for the program of the grain trust is the best insurance against a collapse of the new-born collective organizations.

In the industrial department of national affairs the principal recent event was the opening of the Turksib Railroad on April 28. Indeed, the completion of this railroad may be called, without exaggeration, one of the outstanding industrial achievements of the Soviet régime. The line is 1,700 miles in length and unites the grain, meat and timber producing regions of Siberia with the cotton and rice areas of Turkestan. It opens up an immense area of unexploited and formerly inaccessible land rich in oil and mineral resources. Connecting the present Central Asia Railroad at Aris, Uzbekistan, with the Transsiberian at Novosibirsk, and paralleling the Chinese frontier for a distance of 700 miles, the new railroad has military and political potentialities of great significance. The enterprise was carried through by Bill Shatoff, a former Chicago anarchist, entirely with Russian labor, capital and technical supervision. Supplementary to this undertaking is the enormous irrigation project now under way in Turkestan under the direction of Arthur P. Davis, former head of the United States Reclamation Service. This is intended to create a cotton-growing industry of such size as to free Russia from reliance upon foreign supplies. The new railroad will not only make the produce of this region available to the market but will mobilize the other agrarian and mining resources of Central Asia.

There has been a distinct improvement in the foreign relationships of the Soviet Union during this period of un-

settlement and uncertainty within the country. The storm of protest against the Soviet religious policy which, two months ago, swept through the world and threatened to unite the principal religious denominations and some of the governments in a Holy Alliance against communism subsided without having produced any tangible alterations in the official attitudes of other nations toward Russia.

A month ago there was some danger that relations between the Soviet Union and Poland were strained almost to the breaking point because of the latter's espousal of the cause of the Vatican. The tension was increased by the appointment of a Polish Cabinet composed of militarists with aggressive anti-Bolshevist views; and on April 26 the discovery of a bomb in the Soviet Legation at Warsaw aroused such feeling in Russia that war seemed imminent. Russian opinion has not forgotten that three years ago Wojkoff, the Soviet envoy, was assassinated in Warsaw and that the Polish Government failed to give adequate redress. This second attempt on the life of Russian diplomatic agents brought forth on April 29 a stern note of censure from the Soviet Government accusing Poland of a deliberate attempt to precipitate war between the two countries. Fortunately, Poland was able to give assurances both by diplomatic word and through the energetic activity of her police officers that the plot was none of her devising. By May 1 Russia was convinced of the innocence of the Polish Government, and her public avowal of that fact has left the relations of the two countries in better temper than they had been for some time past.

A positive gain in Russia's international status was registered by the conclusion of the trade treaty with Great Britain on April 16. In one important regard the terms of this agreement represent a diplomatic victory for the Soviet Union. It will be recalled that a diplomatic break in 1926 occurred as a consequence of a raid on the London headquarters of the Arcos, the Russian

Trading Corporation, carried out by the Conservative Government under the pretext of a search for incriminating documents. At that time Russia insisted that her commercial agents were entitled to diplomatic immunity on the ground that, representing a government monopoly, they were public officials; contention over this point delayed the resumption of trade relations. The new agreement accords immunity to a specified number of trade representatives and holds the general offices inviolate from such an attack as that of 1926. This establishes a principle which may be used to the advantage of Russia in many ways should popular temper in Great Britain be aroused against her another time. Critics of the MacDonald Government and enemies of the Soviet régime have not been slow to call attention to the fact that this privilege can be made to nullify all assurances given by the Soviet Government against using its foothold in England to promote subversive propaganda.

Apart from this feature, the trade agreement includes all the provisions customary in such treaties between friendly nations. Each State binds itself to accord most-favored-nation treatment to the products and citizens of the other, and to be guided in its policy toward the other solely by commercial and financial considerations. The agreement can be extended to British dominions by resolution of the Parliaments of these dominions. As an earnest of the sincerity of its desire to promote Anglo-Russian trade, the British Government has guaranteed a credit of \$150,000,000 to be employed in financing Russian purchases during the next two years. Three days after the signing of the agreement the Arcos was able to announce its first tangible results in the form of two contracts for the purchase of British goods, a \$15,000,000 deal with the chemical firm of Brunner, Mond & Co. for fertilizers, and a contract with the Vickers Electric Corporation for \$10,000,000 worth of hydroelectric machinery.

## THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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THE NEGOTIATIONS which were held in London during April between Prime Minister Nahas Pasha and other prominent Egyptians on the one hand and Foreign Secretary Henderson and his staff on the other hand regarding an Anglo-Egyptian treaty ended in failure on May 8. Great Britain's refusal to grant further concessions brought the conference to its unsuccessful conclusion.

The starting point of the negotiation was the draft treaty which former Prime Minister Mohammed Mahmud Pasha took back to Egypt from the Labor Government last Summer. At that time and at intervals since more or less official declarations affirmed that the British had stated their ex-

treme limit of concessions. Nevertheless there remained some points which were not wholly satisfactory to patriotic Egyptians, and the new Egyptian Government, from the point of view of prestige, wished to obtain something more from Great Britain than had the previous extra-constitutional government.

The period of negotiation has been difficult for the British Government because of the naval conference, the movements of Gandhi in India, the report of the Palestine Commission of Inquiry, and home difficulties connected with unemployment and heavy taxation.

Current news dispatches have not presented many details of the discus-



sions. Most features of the proposed treaty were agreed upon with little argument. The Egyptians, however, made several demands which went beyond what the British were prepared to grant. Important among these were complete parity in the civil and military administration of the Sudan, the complete termination of the capitulations and the removal of the British garrison for the protection of the Suez Canal to the sandy Asiatic side. An apparent deadlock on April 14 was broken in an all-night session, and it was then felt that a pact had been agreed upon. The British promised vigorously that all Egyptian interests in the Sudan would be respected. The Egyptians receded from their demand that Britain give up her capitulatory rights in Egypt in favor of a general yielding on the part of all foreign countries. The Egyptians consented that the majority of the British troops be quartered in the hard desert country west of Ismailia.

It turned out to be impossible to agree on the formulation of the accord before Easter, and Nahas Pasha's return on April 17 to confer with the remainder of the Cabinet in Egypt was unavailing in the attempt to reach an agreement.

Elections for the Provincial Councils were held on April 26 under a new law, which provides election by direct voting instead of in two degrees as formerly. Each constituency which sends a Deputy to Parliament is to have two representatives on the Provincial Council.

There was objection to the appearance of two women police constables, brought from England with the especial purpose of combatting the extensive and increasing white slave traffic in Egypt. It was chiefly based upon the traditional seclusion of women in Mohammedan lands and particularly in Egypt. Many realized, however, that because of this seclusion, women officials could enforce regulations in a way quite impossible for men.

Dr. Fakhry Farag, who was arrested because of an address at the American

University, was subsequently freed on \$500 bail. He is reported to have labeled the Koranic laws as out of date, inapplicable to modern conditions and impossible for Christians to live under. In the middle of April Kamel Mansur, likewise a convert from Mohammedanism to Christianity, speaking at an American mission, is said to have stated that the Koran is a collection of narratives neither veracious nor verifiable, lacking moral weight and being retrogressive. He also was arrested, given a preliminary hearing and released on bail. The two episodes, with accompanying local agitation, have caused anxiety in missionary circles. Clearly Mohammedan opinion in Egypt is alive and strongly on the defensive, although the Egyptian Constitution permits missionaries to work with complete freedom of speech, provided they refrain from instigating rebellion and riots.

The Egyptian Government has decided to construct a new building for the University of Al Azhar and to leave the mosque of that name wholly as a place of worship. The expense for land and building is estimated at \$2,500,000, of which \$500,000 has been appropriated in the budget of 1930-31; \$850,000 more has been set aside for the sending of research missions to foreign countries, to study philosophy and Oriental languages; to inquire into industries and industrial sciences, public health, public finances, public works and agriculture.

Egyptian opinion is unfavorably aroused by the proposed American duty of 7 cents a pound on long staple cotton. On April 17 a proposal was made in the Chamber of Deputies that a duty of 60 per cent ad valorem be imposed on all American goods entering Egypt in case the seven-cent duties should be enacted into law. The motion was referred urgently to the Parliamentary Finance Committee.

**TURKEY**—At the end of March, Istanbul (this is now the official name for Constantinople) was surprised when a newspaper, the *Yarin*,

which means "Tomorrow," published a series of articles criticizing the government severely, and suggesting that the Prime Minister and his colleagues had been in office too long and should resign, to make way for others better able to cope with present economic difficulties. The first attack, on March 31, declared that the actions of the Cabinet, "being mainly determined by the desire of remaining in power, are no longer beneficial to the country." The unfortunate economic condition of the country was charged to the Ministerial changes. The Cabinet was accused of starting many things and bringing nothing to completion, thus throwing the country into thorough confusion. The following day the budget policy was criticized and attention was called to an extensive state of insecurity in the interior. The editor was finally arrested on April 6, on which day other newspapers declared that the *Yarin's* report that the Cabinet was about to resign was without foundation.

At the beginning of May two representatives of the Ottoman Debt Commission appeared again in Ankara, which was considered evidence that the Turkish Government was contemplating the acceptance of a foreign financial adviser, in the hope that a new financial agreement would be signed; according to this agreement, not only would there be approved a postponement of instalments of principal in the near future but also the advancing of a new loan to Turkey in order to assist escape from the present financial crisis.

By an exchange of ratifications at Ankara on April 22 the commercial treaty between the United States and Turkey, which was signed on Oct. 1, 1929, has become effective. It provides unconditional most-favored-nation treatment to the commerce of both countries in apparently all respects. Both countries reserve the right to impose prohibitions or restrictions for the protection of human, animal or plant life, or the enforcement of police and revenue laws. The treaty will re-

main in effect indefinitely, unless, after the first three years, either country should give one year's notice of denunciation.

The admission of women to vote in Turkish local elections has induced much excitement. Since certain changes in the city and county governments at Istanbul, there are seventy-two Council seats to which women are eligible. The Minister of Justice indicated that properly qualified women may be appointed at once to judgeships. Further legislation is in preparation to systematize the voting and the holding of office by women and to give women the vote in national elections. On April 29 two women were appointed as associate judges in the equity courts in Ankara and Istanbul.

The Constantinople Telephone Company, a British corporation, has come into the hands of the International Telegraph and Telephone Corporation through the purchase of the controlling interest in its stock.

**A**RABIA—For the first time since the conquest of the Hejaz by King Ibn Saud, agreement has been reached with the Egyptian Government regarding an Egyptian medical mission to look after the health of Egyptian pilgrims. The Egyptians will be allowed to use their flag and will be granted every facility for visiting Mecca, Medina, Jeddah and Yambo.

The Arab delegation to England was received on April 10 by a group of members of both Houses of Parliament, presided over by Lord Brentford. Musa Kazim Pasha referred to three previous visits to London to plead against the Zionist policy. The Grand Mufti spoke of the pledges given to the Arabs when they entered the war and to the grave blow of the Balfour declaration and to the subsequent policy of oppression which had deprived them of self-government. He stated that the Arab demands are quite moderate, asking simply for equal rights in the government of the country for all the inhabitants of Palestine. Lord Brentford responded sympathetically, expressing the opin-



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ion that matters could not be left in their present position; "the mere determination to enforce a full Zionist policy on a country in which 70 per cent of the inhabitants were bitterly opposed to it could not be allowed to continue." In the discussion the Arab delegates said that it is an economic necessity that there be no more Jewish immigration for the present; that their delegation represents the wishes of the masses in Palestine; that the Arabs rejected the offer of an Arab agency because they wish representative government, and that the Arabs never accepted the conditions of the mandate. A resolution was passed by the meeting asking the British Government "to go fully into Arab grievances in the hope of finding a solution which will meet the Arab claim and bring peace to Palestine."

**SYRIA**—During the past three months propaganda has been carried on in Damascus against the government for the reassembling of the constituent Assembly. At the beginning of April a council of Nationalists declared that any negotiations conducted

without the participation of the constituent Assembly would be considered invalid. It was proposed to send a delegation to Paris and to lay the uncompleted Constitution before the League of Nations.

Extensive economic improvements are planned for Syria, now that France has a comparative abundance of money. It is proposed that large sums shall be advanced by French syndicates and loaned in the Lebanon and Syria. About \$3,000,000 is to be used by the city of Damascus for rebuilding the regions destroyed in the bombardments of 1925 and 1926. The Lebanese Government will borrow 18,000,000 francs for a railway from Tripoli to En-Naaurah and for electrifying the line from Beirut to Damascus. The city of Beirut will use \$4,000,000 for improvement of the port. The loans will run seventy years at 5 per cent interest, with amortization of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent each year. The customs will be security and will be held in the Syro-Lebanese Bank. The projects have been criticized from a nationalist viewpoint, because they tend to fix French control upon the country for the next seventy years.

The Lebanese Cabinet of M. Emile Eddeh resigned on March 25, and a new one was formed under the leadership of Edib Pasha, a Maronite, who formerly served in the Egyptian Ministry of Finance and who was the first Prime Minister of the Lebanon. The other four members of the Cabinet are M. Tuemi, for Education; M. Adhab, for Public Works; M. Nammour, Interior and Hygiene, and M. Husaini, Justice. The Prime Minister personally takes care of finance and agriculture. The new Cabinet plans less drastic economies than those which led to the downfall of its predecessor. The tobacco monopoly, inherited from Turkish times, is to be abolished.

Emile Eddeh fell from office because of the opposition to excessive retrenchment, which involved the closing of Moslem schools, orphanages and hospitals. The Prime Minister claimed there was no discrimination because of religion, but that the Moslem institutions were of low standard. Mohammedans in Syria expressed sympathy, and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem sent a letter to the head of the Supreme Moslem Council in Beirut offering support. This letter was published in certain Beirut papers, which were promptly suppressed. Both Lebanese Christians and French officials expressed resentment at such interference.

**PALESTINE**—Continued comment on the report of the Commission of Inquiry is similar to earlier pronouncements. Jews uniformly deplore its contents and Arabs praise them. Some observers blame Lord Plumer for ignoring troubled conditions and permitting them to grow worse under the surface. Arab opinion objects strongly to the proposal of the Jews at Zurich last August that 20,000 Jews be permitted annually to come into Palestine, because at this rate the Jewish population will exceed the Arab by 1956.

At Easter time this year an unusual coincidence of religious celebrations in Jerusalem brought the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and associated Christian Churches' Easter celebration at

the same date, while the Jewish Passover and the Moslem Nebi Musa ceremony fell upon the same days. In the narrow streets of the city, the restricted space of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the limited area at the Wailing Wall there was competition which required elaborate time schedules and carefully specified routes for processions. All this was done very successfully, but although physical violence was avoided continued excitement results from propaganda. New utterances come from Jews of different opinions, and new parties are started from time to time among the Arabs. Reports come, further, that Communists are actively at work among both Jews and Arabs. Authorities arrested and imprisoned a number of Communists before the Easter festivals.

In January the first general congress of Arab labor was held at Haifa. Figures were presented to the effect that there are 70,000 workmen in Palestine, of whom 50,000 are Arabs and the remainder Jews. The Arabs work for from 25 cents to \$1 a day, most of them receiving 50 cents or less. The Jews receive from 85 cents up per day. Ordinarily the Arabs work twelve to fourteen hours and the Jews eight hours. The Jews are organized and take care of the interests of their members, while unemployed Arabs die of hunger or go to prison. A central committee was formed to open an office in Jaffa. Branches in other towns of Palestine will be organized. An annual congress, a news journal and schools were provided for. The congress declared for the complete independence of Palestine within an Arab union. It objected to new immigration and declared the present governments in Syria and Palestine to be unjust because resting upon force. In imitation of Mr. Gandhi, a political party, called *Istaqlal* (Independence), has been started, and one of its plans is a long march through Palestine.

A minor war has been waged in many countries of the Near East upon an invasion of locusts, which have been a plague since the days of the Patriarch



Joseph. In May, 1926, an agreement was completed among representatives of Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq for joint action in time of need. This year Western and Central Arabia, Ethiopia, the Sudan and Egypt, and even Greece, have suffered. Owing, however, to extensive labors, the repressive efforts have been unusually successful and the damage done has not been very serious.

On May 1 the British Government appointed Sir John Hope Simpson to proceed at once from London to Palestine and prepare a report, in conference with High Commissioner Sir John Chancellor, on the subjects of economic development, immigration and land settlement.

A scheme is being prepared for the establishment of cantons in Palestine, the first to be named Judea and to contain Tel Aviv and forty colonies in that region, the whole containing more than 70,000 Jews. A Jewish plan contemplating five or six Jewish cantons, seven Moslem cantons and three Christian cantons must encounter strenuous opposition from the Moslem Arabs, because they would be assigned districts in very small proportion to their numbers.

The Hebrew University dedicated on April 15 the David Wolfsohn Memorial Library. The beginning of the book collection dates from 1892. The building is to be opened to all races and creeds without distinction.

**I**RAQ—The Popular and Nationalist parties organized a demonstration in Bagdad against the British on March 21. Cries of "Long live the Wafd! Long live Nahas-Pasha! Go to war, O Arabs!" and "Down with the mandate!" received no interference, and there was no violence.

After twelve days of discussion, a new Cabinet, as follows, was formed on March 23:

GENERAL NOURI PASHA AS SAID—Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs.  
JAMIL BEG MADFAIE—Interior.  
ALI JAWDAT BEG—Finance.  
JAMIL BEG BABAN—Justice.  
General JAAFAR PASHA AL ASKARI—Defense.

JAMIL PASHA AR RAWI—Communications and Public Works.

HAJJI ABDUL HUSAIN AL CHALABY—Education.

Trade conditions in Iraq are not good. The cotton crop and the date crop yielded only about 50 per cent of what was expected. Wheat and barley did well, but the fall in prices reduced the value of exports. The fall in the price of silver, which depreciated Persian money about 20 per cent, affected Iraq business strongly. Nevertheless, imports have shown an increase, especially in machinery, building materials and automobiles.

**A**BYSSINIA—The victory on April 2 of the troops of Emperor Ras Tafari Makonnen and the death of Empress Judith on the following day led only temporarily to quiet. More distant tribesmen arose promptly and defeated the Emperor's troops in two battles. The new troubles were said to be based upon a belief that the Empress did not die a natural death. In foreign lands suspicion has been aroused against the powers which are interested in Ethiopian affairs. Inasmuch as a British project, as described last month in CURRENT HISTORY, is about to be started with the help of American capital, a reason might exist for interference on the part of Italians and Frenchmen.

**P**ERSIA—The Ministry of Public Works has been renamed as Ministry of Communications, with the care of railways, roads, navigation and ports. Part of its former duties have been assigned to the new Ministry of National Economy, whose object is the development of national resources, including agriculture, irrigation, stock raising and the export of Persian manufactures. On March 31 Mirza Mohammed Ali Kham Farughi, Zoka ul Mulk, formerly Prime Minister and recently Ambassador to Turkey, was appointed Minister of National Economy.

Parliament has voted the substitution of gold for the silver standard in coinage, with the vival as unit, divisi-

ble into 100 dinars. Parliament has also ordered the use of the metric system, whose adoption has been contemplated for some years. The changes were to take place in the capital on March 21, 1930, and somewhat later in the Provinces.

Taxes have been increased on motor

cars and other vehicles, and an income tax has been imposed. All Persian officials and all pupils in schools have been ordered to wear only Persian cloth. The budget for 1930-31 is balanced at about \$29,000,000, exclusive of royalties from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which are to be held as a reserve.

## THE FAR EAST

By *HAROLD S. QUIGLEY*

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA;  
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**T**HE JAPANESE DIET convened in extra session on April 21, with the Minseito (government party) in possession of an absolute majority of the members in the House of Representatives. Its principal business was the financial measures supplementary to the budget, which, in accordance with the Constitution, is a repetition of that of last year in view of the dissolution of the lower house before the new budget had been passed. The Seiyukai, the principal opposition party, led by the veteran parliamentarian, K. Inukai, had made preparations to attack the government for its failure to improve financial conditions and to obtain a defensive minimum of large cruiser and submarine strength at the London conference. Of considerable import in relation to the progress of democracy was the apparent decision of the opposition not to make an issue out of government interference in the recent general election.

The Diet has no share in the legal process of treaty negotiation, but it has the power to make matters difficult for the government in the Privy Council, which must endorse the treaty before it can be ratified, by taking the lead in raising a storm of public criticism. It also is able to hold up certain important financial measures if dissatisfied with the government's foreign policy. However, the government's majority gave Premier Hamaguchi a sound basis for his prediction that the

ratification process would not occupy more than two months at most. The Premier's opening address to the Diet on April 25 included words of cordial commendation of the new naval pact, as did also the statement by Foreign Minister Shidehara.

Baron Shozo Yabuki, parliamentary Vice Minister of the Navy, referring to the fact well recognized by students of the Japanese system of government, that the legal right of the military ministries and the general staffs of the army and navy to report directly to the Emperor had resulted in "many cases in which the navy general staff has overridden the authority of the administration," called upon the opposition parties not to embarrass the government in its present effort to assert civilian control of naval policy by insisting upon answers to interpellations in the Diet. The Cabinet appears to be in a strong position as against Admiral Kanji Kato, the head of the naval staff board, and other die-hard opponents of the treaty, since Admiral Takarabe, Minister of the Navy, signed the treaty at London. Something of a stir was created in Tokio when it became known that the heads of the American and British delegations to the naval conference had sent identic messages to Foreign Minister Shidehara at the end of March with the request that they be transmitted to Premier Hamaguchi if deemed advisable. Baron Shidehara, however, quieted the feeling by declar-

ing that the messages could in no way be interpreted as threats and that he had not taken the trouble to report them to the Premier.

The somewhat exaggerated significance which a number of Japanese editors and publicists read into an address of Ambassador William R. Castle, delivered upon his arrival last January in Tokio, was deflated by government quarters early in April. In addition to other things Mr. Castle said: "Just as we like to believe that the power of the United States on the American continents is a guarantee of peace so do we believe that the power of Japan in the Orient leads to order and progress and peace in the Western Pacific." One Japanese editor thus assayed this paragraph: "It is indeed a remarkable discovery to find that Mr. Castle recognizes Japan's superiority in the Far East and wishes for her good-will and cooperation with the United States." G. B. Rea, an American, editor of the *Far Eastern Review*, in that periodical for February, 1930, expressed a like view of Mr. Castle's words: "At the very commencement of his address, Mr. Castle lays down a Monroe Doctrine for Asia—a surprising change of attitude on the part of the American Government." The government spokesman, who accorded a special interview to the *Osaka Mainichi* (April 9, 1930), said a number of things that deserve attention:

The era inaugurated by that speech and the understanding which has now developed to the point of a naval agreement cannot be considered a return to the special accord as typified in the Lansing-Ishi agreement of 1917 but marks the discovery that the two nations are traveling the same road with similar intentions and that suspicion or distrust has become unnecessary and seems absurd. \* \* \* Each country has her own policy in Asia. Neither is in a position at present to enter into an agreement of any sort submerging this policy with that of the other party. The American policy is primarily for commercial enterprise, especially in China, where this is symbolized by the open door doctrine. This policy has been similar to and parallel with the Japanese policy of recent years, which has been one for the greatest com-

mercial opportunity, as it expands factories, shipping and exports. Thus the United States and Japan have been brought closely together and at present are traveling the same path. The United States has no demands for special interests or opportunity in China or Manchuria and relies only upon the declarations of policy set forth in the 1921-22 conference, which likewise represent Japan's newer viewpoint.

President Hoover let it be known that Albert Washburn, Minister to Austria, who died on April 2, had been appointed Ambassador to Japan shortly before his death. William R. Castle, now Ambassador on special appointment in Tokio, declined appointment as Ambassador. On April 14 Mr. Castle, on behalf of his government, presented copies of the treaties of 1854-1858 between Japan and the United States, and one of two originals of the treaty of 1857 to the Imperial Historical Library, to replace documents lost by fire in 1860 and 1923.

Signs of hard times continued to increase in Japan. The Kanegafuchi Spinning Company, largest cotton spinners in Japan, owners of thirty-six mills and employers of 40,000 persons, announced early in April a cut of approximately 25 per cent in salaries and wages throughout its whole personnel. (This company presented Sanji Muto, its retiring president, with a bonus of 3,000,000 yen (\$1,500,000) at the end of 1929.) Its action in cutting workers' stipends was justified as a return to normal wages, the cut having been limited to the wartime allowance given to assist workers to meet a higher cost of living. Now that prices are rapidly being deflated industries must protect themselves by withdrawal of emergency allowances. The mill company's announcement resulted in a strike in certain of its plants, the first in the thirty years of the company's existence. The laborers are not unionized and are remaining so during negotiations in order not to endanger their rights to the company's liberal pension funds. However, the labor unions outside the Kanegafuchi mills and the proletarian labor parties have interested themselves in

the case. They are cooperating to compel the company to rescind its decision. Other companies followed the example of the Kanegafuchi, the general situation thus taking on a highly unfavorable aspect.

The position of Japanese cotton mills was seriously affected by the Indian cotton tariff bill, passed by the Indian legislative assembly on March 31 with an amendment establishing a preference of 5 per cent for British plain gray goods. For the first ten months of 1929 Japan exported to India 257,000,000 square yards of this class of goods as compared with 80,000,000 square yards exported from Great Britain. The new Indian rates were expected to be more than twice the old rates. It was thought certain that the Indian Council of State would accept the bill.

**C**HINA—The news of civil war and banditry, wholesale and retail, which entered into the majority of the reports from China during April and early May culminated in dispatches on May 10 stating that a series of major battles was rapidly developing into one immense engagement along an east-west line more than 170 miles long, north of Nanking, between the Nanking Government's forces and the combined forces of Governor Yen Hsi-shan and General Feng Yu-hsiang. This had been preceded by skirmishes in Western Shantung and Central Honan. Yen had already dispossessed the Nankingites in Peiping without fighting, replacing them with his own men, and renaming the former capital by its more familiar name—Peking. General Feng concentrated his forces in Honan and Shenshi, centring at Chengchow, junction of the north and south Peking-Hankow Railway and the east-west Lunghai line.

Governor Yen did not rest content with seizure of the city in which foreign diplomatic representatives still reside. He ordered the Chinese maritime customs office at the important northern port of Tientsin to hold all revenues apart from those derived from the old

treaty rate of 5 per cent subject to his orders. In 1929 the revenues of the port amounted roughly to \$11,250,000 gold (at the ordinary ratio of silver to gold). If half of this be assumed to be affected by Yen's orders it means a loss of at least \$10,000,000 Mex. a year to Nanking's treasury. The remainder was left to maintain the security for foreign loans, a shrewd bid by Yen for non-interference by foreign governments. No attempt by Yen to remove officials of the customs service, which is still under foreign influence, was reported.

At Peking the new dictator notified the banks that Nanking bonds would not be honored in territory under the Yen-Feng aegis. In Shansi, Yen's home province, a tobacco monopoly was in operation in violation of treaties and of the Nanking Government's tax agreements with foreign tobacco companies. Foreign firms were permitted to send their products into designated areas only upon payment of greatly increased taxes. Foreign legations were investigating.

Chang Hsueh-liang, Governor General of Manchuria, maintained his well-established attitude of neutrality in spite of inferences derived from remarks of President Chiang Kai-shek of the Nanking Government that the co-operation of the northern war-lord could be counted upon by his government. It was reported that the Russian consulate general at Mukden had been reopened, a development provided for in the recent Khabarovsk Protocol and objected to by Nanking as outside the powers of the negotiators. The Chinese railway line from Kirin to Hailungcheng, connecting there with the Mukden-Hailungcheng line, was completed. This provides a purely Chinese road from Mukden to Kirin, east of and parallel to the South Manchuria Railway, under lease to Japan.

The voyage of a flotilla of Japanese destroyers, possibly induced by the recent intensification of banditry, up the Yangtse as far as Hankow prompted newspaper protests and student demonstrations, but an official welcome was



accorded to the Japanese naval officers at Nanking. President Chiang credited a combination of reactionaries and communists with such anti-foreign demonstrations and threatened to instruct the gendarmerie to shoot students and close universities if such moves to discredit his government were not stopped.

Inland mission stations suffered from bandit depredations, which were apparently largely motivated by an anti-foreignism growing out of the opposition to Chiang Kai-shek's régime. Kidnapping and murder were rife in Kiangsi and Kiangsu, north and south of the Yangtze in Eastern China. Neither of these provinces is in the famine zone. Chinese and foreign sources also viewed the disorder as in part a manifestation of communism. This was explained as showing unusual strength because of the removal of government forces toward the North and South for defense against regional revolts. The burning and looting of foreign homes and attacks upon the persons of foreigners have been slight in comparison with the destruction and cruelty practiced upon innocent Chinese.

Among the foreigners affected by the disorder were the Rev. R. W. Porteous and wife, British missionaries, and Miss Nina Gemmell, American missionary, captured at Yuanchow, Kiangsi; York Scarlett, British missionary, murdered near Peitaiho, mission spa in North China; three Finnish women missionaries, Misses Cajander, Ingman and Hedengren, captured in February in Kiangsi, and now believed to be dead; C. A. Bridgman, Canadian missionary at Fowchow, Szechuan, captured and held for ransom; two Italian missionaries, slain in Northern Kuangtung; sixteen American priests, be-

sieged in the Kiangsi city of Kanchow by brigands reputedly of "red" tendencies, and two American priests killed after being kidnapped at Sientaochen, Hupeh. Late reports stated that government forces had raised the siege of Kanchow and that all sixteen of the priests were safe. Miss Gemmell was released and reached Hankow.

The Chinese delegation, headed by Mo Te-hui, left Harbin for Moscow on May 1 to confer with Soviet delegates on the settlement of the recent difficulties over the Chinese Eastern Railway. Russia was reported inclined to broaden the scope of the discussions to include general diplomatic issues such as the restoration of regular diplomatic relations.

Sir Miles Lampson, the British Minister, and Dr. C. T. Wang, the Chinese Foreign Minister, signed on April 18 an agreement for the restoration of the British leasehold of Weihaiwei, on the northern coast of Shantung, to China. Great Britain has held the lease since 1898. It is the second to be retroceded, the first being Kiaochow, retroceded by Japan in 1922. Japan, Great Britain and France still retain leased territories in China.

The foreign taxpayers of the international settlement at Shanghai refused the request of the Chinese taxpayers that their membership in the council of the settlement be raised from three to five, the total to be fourteen. The Chinese, who pay somewhat more than half the taxes of the area, alleged that they had been promised an increase in representation. Radicals advocated refusal to pay taxes, but the majority of the Chinese residents appeared to prefer more moderate means of protest.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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gram, a gesture of "Weltpolitik" which revealed a hope for the annexation of the Boer Republic, and of the Diederichs-Dewey incident in Manila Bay which ill-concealed a desire to annex the Philippines. When the formation of the Triple Entente called German attention back to Europe, there was a reversion to the Bismarck principle of securing expansion in agreement with European powers.

In the meantime well-defined schemes of expansion in Central Africa and the Ottoman Empire had captured the popular imagination. Just as the Zanzibar-Heligoland treaty of 1890 was the incident which stimulated the creation of the Pan-German League, so the settlement of the Morocco crisis of 1911 was the occasion of a great flaring up of enthusiasm for colonies. The opposition of England and Russia to the Bagdad Railway project, and of England to German expansion in Africa, had been overcome by peaceful means in 1914, when the war cut short the acquisition of colonies.

In the internal administration of the colonies it was Bismarck's plan to commit the German Government as little as possible. He wished to vest sovereignty in great colonial companies and to let them make what they could out of their opportunities, while Bismarck would protect them from European interference. There would be no German garrisons, nor colonial bureaucracy. This policy broke down because of the incompetence of the companies in East Africa, New Guinea and Southwest Africa where they were established, and because no companies would assume responsibility for government in Togo and the Cameroons.

The second colonial policy left the economic exploitation to great concessionaires, while the German Government established a political bureaucracy. This system resulted in fearful abuses, in cruel exploitation of natives and reckless waste of government resources. In the Reichstag crisis of 1907 the cruelty, corruption and extravagance of the Colonial Office was exposed by the Socialist and Catholic parties with telling effect. The German people voted to retain their colonies, but the government wisely revised its principles of administration. Dr. Bernhard Dernberg initiated an enlightened colonial policy in which he undertook to

protect the natives, to interest the government in stimulating economic activities, and to train a competent administrative personnel.

When German colonial enterprise and the colonial undertakings of other powers are compared, they show more similarities than differences, and the similarities are even greater than Dr. Townsend notes. The period of ruthless "Weltpolitik" in the first two decades of the reign of William II saw the British, French and Russians equally forgetful of European perils while they plunged into colonial adventure at Fashoda, in the Transvaal or Manchuria. The other powers were probably more reckless and certainly more bloody than the Germans in acquiring colonies, and equally cruel in administering them.

### *George V*

By P. W. WILSON

FORMER MEMBER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

TO supreme art, no task is impossible. Given a Velasquez, the formalities of a Spanish palace glow with grandeur, yet breathe forth a human significance.

To Sir George Arthur, there has fallen the task of attempting with the pen what Velasquez achieved with the brush. Restrained by a rigid etiquette and by a dread of royal displeasure, he has tried, none the less, to produce a biography of King George V.\* We cannot pretend to think that he has succeeded.

If ever there were a court correctly administered, it is the British Court at this moment. Yet, with nothing to conceal, there is a firm determination to suppress all record of that



George V as a young man

\**George V.* By Sir George Arthur. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930. 320 pp. Illustrated. \$5.

amusing tittle-tattle which, in many institutions, enlivens the back-stairs. No one at Buckingham Palace, so it is asserted, may keep a diary, and from Windsor Castle, Grevillas are carefully excluded.

In British pageantry, there is to be found, not only a majestic ensemble, but a perfection of detail. Sir George Arthur is one of those accurate, reliable, courteous officials to whom detail is sacred. King George claims that King Edward I and King Charles II are among his "ancestors," and experts on pedigree ask how it can be proved. With elaborate care, Sir George explains that the word ancestor is used in the old French sense of predecessor, that, in any case, King George is more than thirty generations removed by direct descent from Charlemagne, and that fifteen generations yield to every one of us no fewer than 270,000,000 kindred, a number reduced, of course, by the doubling of cousins.

So with the Coronation Durbar at Delhi. What Sir George Arthur recollects is not so much the splendor of an incomparable occasion, but the fact that the King rode in the procession, not on an elephant, but on a horse, and that he wore the usual cork helmet. What his Majesty wished to convey was sympathy with the people, crowded along the route. But Sir George detects an error in ceremonial. It was a potentate to look up to and not a person on their own level that the people were expecting; and many of them supposed that the King-Emperor was absent.

Where Sir George fails, is in the ability to dramatize the big situations. After all, there is an abundance of material that he could have used. For instance, he describes King Edward's funeral and the banquet that followed, adding:

"The Kaiser seized the opportunity to take the French Ambassador aside, and—with the King's food scarcely out of his throat and the King's wine scarcely dry on his lips—made a sinister suggestion to him as to the possibility of France siding with Germany in the eventuality of Germany finding herself opposed to England, a suggestion which the Ambassador diplomatically affected to misunderstand."

That is certainly startling and excellent as literature. Yet a subsequent occasion, still more historic, is dismissed, incredibly, in the words "a state banquet to President Wilson, who, with a large suite, much pomp, and Mrs. Wilson, was paying visits to London, Paris and Rome." Here is a

sneer, which Sir George Arthur himself, if he considers it in cold blood, can scarcely fail to regret.

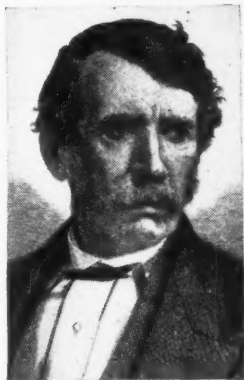
While many descriptions, then, might have been expanded, there are scores of pages in this volume that should have been omitted. They are the kind of record we can find in *The Annual Register*. But we are not unimpressed by this catalogue of activities and events, which does at least demonstrate the astounding complexity of the world-wide revolution, still proceeding in this twentieth century.

## Livingstone

By THOMAS JESSE JONES

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR, PHELPS-STOKES FUND

ACCURACY and truthfulness are the outstanding qualities of this excellent biography of a great man.\* The volume is valuable not only as a description and an analysis of a remarkable personality; it is also a revelation of



DAVID LIVINGSTONE

the initial explorations of the last unknown continent of the world. The opening of Africa to civilization was one of the outstanding events of human history. The daring and suffering of Livingstone during his travels through unknown lands are beyond the comprehension of all those who have not been subjected to the drastic obstacles of wild country and savage people. Only a person with "irrational doggedness" and an indomitable purpose could have realized his objective. All this the book presents with a discriminating selection of facts and comments that reveal Livingstone as a living personality and the country and native people as places and communities within the realm of our understanding.

To one who traveled over Livingstone's routes sixty years afterward there are

\**Livingstone*. By R. J. Campbell. With Maps and Illustrations. 280 pages. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1930. \$3.

contrasts and similarities of very impressive character. The contrasts are, of course, in roads and railroads and other means of communication that penetrate the countries in every direction. Settled governments now rule and preserve order where formerly there were slavery and dangers and social chaos. However, there are also similarities that have been strikingly persistent. There are those who with Livingstone still urge the value of commerce and Christianity as the chief agencies of civilization. As in Livingstone's time, others doubt the value of missions and the commercial penetrations of primitive society. Misunderstandings among representatives of governments and missions and business have continued through all the decades. Cooperation between these groups has evidently had ebbs and flows from that day to this.

While Dr. Campbell has made effective use of the extensive source material placed at his disposal, his interpretation of Livingstone and Africa naturally reflects his interest as a preacher and teacher of ethics and religion in Britain and America. His knowledge of Africa is obviously second-hand, and the student of African conditions accordingly misses at times the authoritative touch of actual experience with Africans and with the problems of the colored races. However, the purpose of the biography is the presentation of Livingstone and his influence to Europeans and Americans. To this end Dr. Campbell's intimate knowledge of his audience has enabled him to relate the experiences and achievements of this extraordinary explorer and missionary to the life and philosophy of thoughtful men and women of the present day. This is a most worthwhile accomplishment for which all readers of the book will be sincerely grateful.

## *The Two Frontiers*

By ALEXANDER BALTZLY

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

RUSSIA and America, each facing away from Europe and creating a civilization diverse from those European modes from which both had received impetus—here is a theme that has suggested itself to many, but now receives a detailed examination. Mr. Fletcher be-

gins with the suggestion of an analogous comparison between ancient Egypt and Babylon and then launches forth in a *résumé* of Russian and American history.\* Professing with some asperity a contempt for conventional historical writing, with its emphasis on the factual, he achieves a remarkable contempt for fact as well. This portion of his work is replete with misstatements, incorrect dates and, naturally, inferences that are ill based. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that this historical survey was written on a desert island, for the simplest works of reference would have corrected many a slip. If one has to refer to the Council of Florence, it is not well to state that it took place after the fall of Constantinople, and at the time of the marriage of Ivan III with Zoë Paleologus, when, as a matter of fact, it was in session in 1438-39. This is by no means an isolated instance.

Of much greater value is the contrast that follows between the Russian and American minds. Yet here, too, Mr. Fletcher treads the most treacherous ground with an assurance that makes his reader apprehensive. "About the typical, 100 per cent American one can learn everything but his feelings. \* \* \* About a Russian you know only his feelings." The American passion is for land, while the Russian lusts for power. There is an unconvincing effort to exhibit Henry James and Turgenev as specimens of the uprooted American and Russian in whom these different passions reveal themselves. Again, using religion as the criterion for comparison, Mr. Fletcher discusses the Byzantine origin of Russian Orthodoxy and the derivation of American Christianity from the Protestant Reformation. If the one holds out as its ideal a communion of souls, the other emphasizes individualism in religion. "The one exalts conduct, the other faith." The Russian asks *why*, the American cares only to know *how*, with the result that the former arrives at nihilism and the latter at a confident acceptance of external phenomena. This contrast is carried into the arts; yet, despite the contrast, Mr. Fletcher suggests that with both art is an expression, not of tradition, but of protest against that which he sees about him.

The book is full of this suggestiveness, often sensitive, even brilliant, but the au-

\**The Two Frontiers. A Study in Historical Psychology.* By John Gould Fletcher. 373 pages. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. \$3.



thor is not content with intimating; he must force all his data into the scheme he has prepared. Twelve elaborate comparisons of Russian writers with American, instead of clarifying, confuse. Krylov and Franklin, Pushkin and Irving, Karamzin and Cooper, Zhukovskii and Bryant, Gogol and Hawthorne, even the Slavophiles with the New England Transcendentalists, Tolstoy and Whitman, Dostoevsky and Melville, and so on, closing with Andreyev and Jack London. Comparisons have long been called odious, but Mr. Fletcher's are too often irrelevant.

"The whole course of American history may be summed up," says Mr. Fletcher, "as the history of the spread of the pioneer and of his type of mind into every department of human effort." The last quarter of the book is devoted to the more recent growth of America, with emphasis on the Emerson-Whitman-"Babbitt" sequence as an interpretation of the development of democracy and the gaining of control by the business interests, and to the parallel growth in Russia of autocratic control. At the same time Europe sinks under the weight of nationalism and crashes with the great war. A very delightful passage considers the two opposites represented by post-war Russia and America, the American exalting "physical liberty at the expense of social and moral responsibility," and the Russian the reverse. Mr. Fletcher finds in the rocking chair the symbol of America—reminiscent of *Beggar on Horseback*—and the Russian symbol in the samovar. The American lives in activity without an end, while the Russian boils water to enable him to sit with his tea and talk without doing.

And now we enter the realm of prophecy and see Russia making herself master of Asia, and America becoming the power of the West, with an impending clash that will bring civilization down with it, if within both America and Russia something be not found to withstand the consistent tendencies that they hitherto have manifested. "It is Russia, not America, that needs an Emerson to lead it toward individual self-reliance. It is America, not Russia, that needs a Dostoevsky to show it the value of common submission to the mysterious powers that govern the development of all spirituality." The book is ragged, too long, too diffuse, yet such generalizations as this are decidedly illuminating.

## Rutherford B. Hayes

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

DR. ECKENRODE has undertaken to rehabilitate the memory of President Hayes.\* It was not an easy task, for Hayes himself was not brilliant and his career is not readily made dramatic. As far as personal distinction



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

goes, there was no special reason why he should have been nominated for the Presidency, and his political record before his election was not of the best. Add to these disadvantages the bitter prejudice in Democratic circles which his choice by the Electoral Commission inspired, and the social com-  
monness of a White House life in which dinners were bone dry save as water "flowed like champagne," and it is easy to understand why this "statesman of reunion," as Dr. Eckenrode happily calls him, should have been "ungratefully forgotten."

Yet if Hayes himself was undistinguished, there were nevertheless practical reasons, as Dr. Eckenrode shows, for making him the Republican choice in 1876, as there were for awarding the disputed election to him rather than to Tilden. Indeed, it may with some confidence be said that if notoriously partisan politics had not controlled the decision of the Electoral Commission and Tilden had been chosen, the wounds of war would have been much longer in healing and the Democrats would have had less chance of electing their candidate in 1885.

Hayes was making respectable headway as a lawyer in Cincinnati when he joined the new Republican party, but his Republicanism did not imply any keen feeling about slavery. When the Civil War broke out he enlisted as a major, presently became a colonel, and in due time joined the

\**Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion*. By H. J. Eckenrode, assisted by Pocahontas Wilson Wight. 363 pages. Illustrated. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$5.

ranks of the brigadiers-general of whom a thousand or more were eventually created. He was wounded in the battle of South Mountain, campaigned with Sheridan and praised Sherman's devastation of Georgia while deploring in general the wanton destruction of civilian property. His attitude toward the Confederates was that of a soldier—they were enemies to be fought, not rebels to be hated.

He was still in uniform when, in 1865, he was elected to the House of Representatives. Dr. Eckenrode finds him "out of place" in a House that wanted vengeance; he "took care to say little" and "had no intention of offering himself a sacrifice on the altar of reconciliation for the reason that he was 'not in the least a martyr, lacking convictions in the first place and possessing the instinct of self-preservation in the second.'" In 1867 he was chosen Governor of Ohio, was re-elected in 1869, and supported Grant in 1872 notwithstanding that he knew the Grant régime was corrupt and that his own sympathies were with the Liberal Republicans.

The Presidential struggle of 1876-77 has been so thoroughly studied that Dr. Eckenrode is not able to add much to the story. Hayes was nominated because he was "safe." He had been a good party man; he had a creditable military record; he was not radical regarding the South; he had been an acceptable Governor, and he favored sound money as against free silver or greenbacks. The election, Dr. Eckenrode thinks, was "comparatively honest," mainly because there was not much money to spend. The "great peril," as he sees it, was that the commission to which the disputed returns were referred "might declare for Tilden," because while the Democrats, he thinks, would have accepted the result if they had lost, the Republicans, "used to covering violence and illegality with the cloak of necessity," would probably not have surrendered if the decision had gone against them. It was obviously easier for a Republican President than it would have been for a Democratic one to withdraw the remaining Federal troops from the South.

Hayes performed with dignity and firmness the task of pacification, and also found time to do some much-needed cleansing of the party stables. He got rid of some of the dirty politics that attached to the Indian Bureau and the New York Custom House, vetoed (unsuccessfully)

the Bland free coinage bill and a Chinese exclusion bill, stood solidly for sound money and the return to specie payments and put down the great railway strike of 1877. Dr. Eckenrode sees in him "the first modern President," behind him slavery and the Civil War, before him the future of which today is a part. He was "a lonely figure in the Presidency," but he showed moral courage. Most of all, he helped to heal the great breach.

## *A Short History of the French People*

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

PROFESSOR OF FRENCH, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

A HISTORICAL work by Professor Guignebert could not help being lively, stimulating and brilliant. This "short" history of the French people\* is all that. It has, in addition, the virtue of clarity. Written by a scholar who is endowed both with a critical mind and a sense of honor, it compares favorably with other "national" histories written in the hagiographical vein and composed in the spirit of a "patriotic" tract. Although originally prepared for a course given to American soldiers detained in Paris after the war, there is no trace of "propaganda" or of sentimentality about this recital of historical events. The quiet, easy and familiar style of the author is as engaging as his common sense and objectivity are refreshing. He is himself interested in the story he is telling us and he makes the book as entertaining as it is instructive.

M. Guignebert has the gift of selection and perspective so essential in such a vast subject as the history of a people from prehistoric times down to the present day. There are no tedious descriptions of battles, no dry enumerations of irrelevant incidents, no overemphasis on the diplomatic history. This is essentially a history of the people presented to us through their actions as pictured in the documents of the time, the memoirs and the works of literature from which the author borrows many graphic illustrations. At the end of each chapter M.

\**A Short History of the French People.* By Charles Guignebert. Translated by F. G. Richmond. 2 vol. 1,178 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. \$15.

Guignebert presents briefly the main trend of thought and the essential characteristics of the period just described.

Yet this book will not please all readers, whether French or otherwise, and indeed it may in places shock some of them. Those who know some of the previous works of Professor Guignebert are aware that he has devoted his attention to the history of religious movements and that he has treated them from the standpoint of a rationalist who submits every subject to the test of reason and accepts miracles neither in politics nor in religion. The delicate and deft manner in which he handles what in France is still the difficult subject of Jeanne d'Arc is characteristic of his method. Some of his judgments may not seem sound to every one, and I am not positive that all his statements, especially those on contemporary events, should be received without some caution. But he is always outspoken and in good taste. He is always fearless and does not repeat the conventional platitudes of his predecessors on some disputed subject, as for instance the famous Ems dispatch. His opinions are those of a scholar of liberal views and democratic sympathies, who is committed neither to the dogmas of a church nor of a political party. At a time when the fashion in France seems to be for histories written in glorification of the most extreme periods of obscurantism and of the most notorious exponents of political absolutism it is almost a novelty to find a history that has no other aim than to state the facts as they are and to judge the men as they appear in the light of reason and common sense.

While the translation is on the whole accurate and readable there are here and there strange interpretations that will puzzle the reader who is not informed about French institutions or French terminology. To call the departmental ballot now in use a "scrutiny of the list" from the French *scrutin de liste* is worse than unintelligible. The phrase of parliamentary origin *être à l'ordre du jour* which means that "a thing is much spoken of" could hardly be understood when translated "the question is on the agenda of the day." The Duke of Enghien who was kidnapped by the agents of Bonaparte near Strasbourg had been to that dangerous neighborhood by a love intrigue which our translator calls "an affair of the heart." The expression "World's Fair" translates more idiomatic-

cally *exposition universelle* than the words "universal exhibition." As for Louis XIV having been "a life long laborer" and the revolutionary agitator Maillard having started life as an "usher," those statements will likewise astonish many a reader unaware of the vagaries of translators who after living too long with a text in a foreign tongue no longer know their own language. But these blemishes should not prevent this excellent history from displacing many other less readable and less trustworthy.

## Albania

By NELO DRIZARI  
ALBANIAN JOURNALIST

ALTHOUGH a number of books have been written on Albania, none of them has shed as much true light on that country as this work by a British author.\* In gleaning and assimilating his material from every available source, Mr.



Times Wide World  
KING ZOG

Swire undertook an enormous task, because of the bewildering mass of sugar-coated propaganda. He has, however, succeeded in extracting the truth and has presented it in an admirably told story. Thanks, therefore, to four years of scholarly research, Albania is no longer "darker than the interior of dark Africa."

The first fact of Albanian history to note, Mr. Swire points out, is that "sheltered by their impassable mountains and defended by their own indomitable courage and fierce spirit of local independence, the Albanians alone of all the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula have safely weathered the storm of invasion." Yet, at the Congress of Berlin, despite the Albanian leaders' pleas for independence, Bismarck declared that "there is no

\**Albania: The Rise of a Kingdom.* By J. Swire. With maps and illustrations. 560 pages. New York: Richard R. Smith. \$7.

Albanian nationality," a statement which was torn to tatters thirty-four years later, for in 1912 Albania declared herself independent and in 1914 accepted a German Prince, William of Wied, as her King. From 1912 to the present day the course of events in Albania is so vividly and accurately traced that even the critical eyes of a native have difficulty in detecting any error.

The author leaves no doubt as to his findings concerning the Italo-Yugoslav controversy over Albania. "The strategic interests of Italy in Albania are," he says, "defensive only," and for that reason "any threat by Yugoslavia to the Albanian coast line constitutes a threat to the security of Italy." Nevertheless, Yugoslavia pursued a dangerous policy toward Albania: "Yugoslavia seemed obsessed with the idea that she could continue to play the old Balkan game, which consists of warfare by irregulars while nominally there is peace—similar to the game played by Philip II of Spain and Queen Elizabeth. That Italy had definitely refused, by concluding the pact of Tirana, to play that game, or to allow it to be played at the expense of Albania, was the actual cause of Yugoslav resentment of the pact."

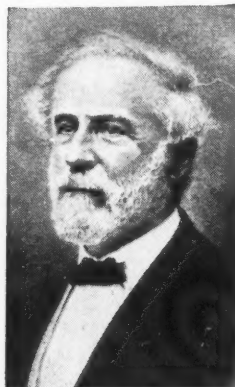
Mr. Swire's allusion to the recognition of the Soviet Union by former Prime Minister Fan Noli and the means which Ahmed Zogu used in entering Albania in 1924 is, however, distinctly controversial. "Mgr. Noli, in establishing diplomatic relations with Russia," Mr. Swire says, "had merely followed the example of Great Britain, and the step had been taken when Mr. MacDonald's Government was in power." The fact remains that Bishop Noli allowed Tirana to become the centre of Soviet propaganda in the Balkans. Mr. Swire's statement that "the means which Zogu used were deplorable," even if his "return to power may have been desirable," conveys quite an erroneous impression. Zogu merely used his faithful soldiers who had followed him into exile and allowed other Albanians from the territory ceded to Yugoslavia to join him. To be sure, the author has much to say in praise of Zogu, for he "was by no means \* \* \* an instrument of the Yugoslavs, but a patriot whose intention it was, and is \* \* \* to govern in the interests of his country." All in all, Mr. Swire's book is indispensable as the only exhaustive, impartial and authentic history of Albania.

## Marse Robert, Knight of The Confederacy

By THOMAS ROBSON HAY

EVERY great man has his legend which is the result of the impact of his personality on a receptivity peculiar to his time. Because of this fact the romanticism of the Lost Cause

has tended to put Lee and his career into a light very different from that which first shone on them. It has thus come about that when we think of Lee there is too often the likelihood that the first image to come to mind is that of a kind, considerate and gentle man—a charming Southern soldier and gentleman. It does not seem to



ROBERT E. LEE

the reviewer that any writer has either surmounted the Lee legend or made any successful effort to get behind it to discover to what extent the real man differs from the legend. Indeed, if Lee's gentility, humility and forgiving spirit were all there were to the man's character, how are we to explain his ability to command the respect and admiration of an army and a people of individualists and to lead them through four years of bloody warfare against great odds and in the face of every handicap that the leader of an army is called upon to overcome? The answer is that Lee was the manliest of men, upstanding and forthright, with the courage of his convictions and with neither moral nor physical fear. He did not hesitate to deliver scathing rebukes on occasion and when his wrath was aroused the one who provoked it knew it was justified. But this latter side of Lee's character is seldom shown in the biography under consideration.

*Marse Robert*\* is described as "an interpretative biography," but it is interpretative of only one phase of Lee's character.

\**Marse Robert, Knight of the Confederacy*. By James C. Young. New York: Rae D. Henkle Company, Inc., 1929. 356 pp. \$5.



There is an atmosphere of charm and gentility about this book that is in keeping with its conception of Lee and that makes of it pleasant reading, but the treatment of Lee's career is neither profound nor critical and adds nothing new to our understanding of the man and his achievements. Lee was a many-sided and dynamic personality and any conception of him cannot be reduced to an attitude, a phrase or a statement.

It is not evident that any new "original sources of history" have been used unless we are to accept the "recollections of the few living men who knew Lee himself." Such "sources" are but surviving links to a distant past in which the figure of Lee and his achievements have grown mythical. There are a number of excellent illustrations, but the one map is entirely inadequate. There are no footnotes; there is no index, and the bibliography contains no new citations.

Likewise, there seems to be a lack of proportion in the treatment of Lee's career and of events in the war; for example, over twenty pages are devoted to the first Bull Run in which Lee was neither a participant nor a spectator. Throughout, the emphasis is placed primarily on the dramatic and the picturesque. The book, however, has one great merit in that it will cause and has, in fact, caused many readers to learn something of Lee and his times, as the story is told in such a way as to induce the general reader, once started, to read the book through. The civilization and the times that produced Robert E. Lee are gone forever, but his character steadily looms more dynamic and attractive in the retrospect of time. Surely he did not live in vain.

### *The Passing of Normalcy*

By STANLEY HIGH

EDITOR, *Christian Herald*

FOR a long decade a Main Street theme has run through our current literature, much more drab and commonplace, for the most part, than the street itself. Now the same theme, grown somewhat cold for fiction, has been taken up by all manner of social inquisitors. They have pried into the small town, inquired after the state of its morale, its soul and its bank account and thus have bared for us the uncommon

problems of the common man. Among the signs of the times observers have noted good roads, motion pictures, the radio, the new status of women, the declining authority of the Church and the family. To this list Mr. Wood\* proposes to add chain stores. In fact, he would put them at the top as the most significant of all, and he makes out a plausible case, not for chain stores as such, but for the changed economic order of which they are a symbol.

Mr. Wood evidently knew a good deal about big business. He knew much less about small towns. But there must have been in his mind a rather definite belief that there was a significant connection between the two which was adequately understood by the representative of neither. It was that belief that took him to Marion. He might have gone, I suppose, to a hundred other towns. Not all of them would have boasted that they had sent a man to the White House. But all of them would have felt sure that one day they might, and all of them would have had to show the same streets, some paved, some not, the same comfortable residences, the same well-built postoffice, the same court house, public library, churches and schools and, in general, the same kind of folks, struggling blindly but with not a little heroism, to put a curb upon the same kind of children. In fact, the Marion that Mr. Wood found resembles these hundred other towns of today much more closely than it does the Marion of a generation ago. It is not that the city has grown. Physically, save for the chain stores and the increased traffic, it is still the home of Warren G. Harding. Socially and spiritually, however, "it is becoming a place in which no one seems to have his bearings." In this respect the Marion of Mr. Harding—or of Mr. Wood—is important because it is so much like so many other similarly changing communities scattered over America.

For one thing the old neighborliness is gone. Take Marion's veteran policeman. In the old days, as he pointed out himself, he seldom had to look long to discover the source of any local deviltry. The nature of the offense was a pretty sure clue to the offender. Nowadays one man's guess was about as good as another. "We simply don't know our town, the way we used to," said the policeman, "and the

\**The Passing of Normalcy*. By Charles W. Wood. New York: B. C. Forbes Publishing Company. \$3.

people here don't know each other." Others besides policemen testified to that fact. Storekeepers in the old days kept open house at all hours for all comers. Both credit and opinions were free. Today merchants take fewer chances with credit and have less time to swap opinions. Shopping is no longer a social event, but an impersonal commercial transaction. People simply do not know each other as they once did. Admitting the way they once knew each other was sometimes too intimate for comfort or for peace, it still remains true that more than a little of the one-time friendliness has disappeared. Poverty, in the old days, called for the exercise of personal interest on the part of those who were not poor. Poverty today simply calls for action by the community chest. Automobiles, good roads and a variety of other things have released Marion people from Marion.

Similarly, much of the old simplicity is gone. "Time was," explained a furniture dealer, "when a young man, planning matrimony, would drop in to find out how much it would set him back to start up a place for two. We'd find out where he worked and what his prospects were. His company usually would understand his situation and encourage him. Such a couple might begin married life by going in debt four or five hundred dollars. But what they bought was first-class in quality. But we can't do business that way now. Instead of finding out what they need and what they can pay for, they're likely to buy everything that's sold to them—on the instalment plan. Maybe they'll begin with a car and a radio set and tog themselves out in all the latest styles at a dollar a week per tog."

During one week of Mr. Wood's sojourn in Marion, 18,000 residents of that community saw Al Jolson in *The Singing Fool* in a theatre of "truly regal splendor." Similar crowds flocked, every week, to see similar Broadway successes with results which were apparent in the lives of Marion. Late one Spring afternoon Mr. Wood came across a group of children playing on a Marion street. Their game appeared at first glance like a childish dramatization of the Indians and cowboys of his own era. But his first glance was wrong. The scene of this impromptu drama was a New York night club in process of being held up by gunmen. Mr. Wood, as a New Yorker, felt at once his own ignorance of night clubs, in contrast

with the ready familiarity of these Middle Western children.

This sophistication has had its effect upon the home. In fact, in Mr. Wood's opinion, the home has lost its job. Certainly it has lost some of its old authority. But its job has probably been changed rather than lost. Every town has a quota of young folks who, "even if they obey their parents, do not look up to them"; to whom marriage is desirable only if it is backed by an adequate purse; and in whose eyes the family is "not a going concern." But Mr. Wood evidently met a disproportionate number of these young people. One gets the impression that he drew his rule from the exceptions. There is, however, probably less of the old-fashioned home life in small-town America. Almost everything that once was done in the home is now done elsewhere and generally by "outsiders." Corporations and not the home provide the necessities of life, from water and lights to shoes and clothing. Even food is no longer so extensively home produced. Farmers who have gone in for one or two major crops find it more economical to buy provisions from central distributing points to which all the crops are now organized to flow. "They just skip into Marion, in a car made by Big Business and propelled by Big Business gasoline and stop, the chances are, at one of the eighteen stores belonging to the Kroger chain."

This spectacle of the Marion citizen in league with big business, not only symbolizes the change that has come to the small town, but in some measure explains it. In so far as the change is for the worse that explanation is satisfactory to Marion, for it is widely conceded that if times are bad and life confused, the blame can be assessed against these "outside influences," among which the alien business concern, particularly the chain store, seems to suffer the greatest current disfavor.

In the old days, the Marion resident with a helper or two made his own wagon. Today there are not enough people in the entire community to make one of the motorized wagons now generally in use, nor does it matter who makes it or where it is made. Marion has a steam shovel factory, but its wealthy citizen, with his mind made up for a limousine, does not buy a steam shovel simply because the limousine is made in Detroit and the steam shovel in Marion, though

to get such a car it is necessary to send a considerable amount of money out of town. But no one objects, for Detroit and Marion are essential to each other. It is no longer true that the people of Marion live in Marion and the people of New York live in New York. "The fact is that New York is as much a part of Marion as is Centre Street and that the Marions of America are as much a part of New York as is Times Square. Neither is a community in itself. Both are simply aspects of a larger community."

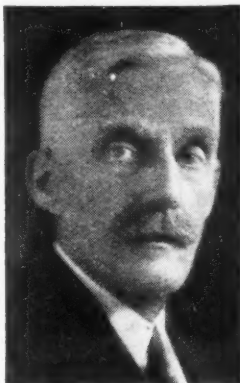
It is because the average citizen has moved from the small town into this larger community that the small town itself, in Mr. Wood's opinion, is undergoing such great change. The larger community operates through a machine. It operates so thoroughly that, for good or ill, the machine has taken over a vast number of the functions that formerly belonged to the local group. One presses a button, or turns a switch or buys a ticket of admission and forthwith the machine begins to turn out the necessities and the pleasures of life. The local group participated in the creation of this mechanism. Marion, for example, produces part of the larger community's quota of steam shovels. The local group likewise shares in the benefits of the machine's operation. Marion, as we have noted, went, 18,000 strong to see and hear *The Singing Fool*. But by this larger relationship Marion has ceased to be a local group and has begun to merge in the larger community in the activities and interests of which it is so inextricably bound up. Unfortunately, at least for normalcy, many of the old ways of living and thinking, which did very well when the small town was a small town, are proving as inadequate as the old ways of doing business in this larger community into which everybody has moved.

It is no doubt inevitable that the machine, which has operated to cut a good many of the old moorings, should for that very reason come in for considerable condemnation. In seven different sermons in two months Mr. Wood heard the present referred to as a "materialistic age" and its materialism deplored because of the "moral deterioration" that followed in its train. Such reasoning, as every church attendant can testify, is not at all confined to the pulpits of Marion. But, for all its wide acceptance, it may be false. Perhaps what we so easily lay up against the Machine Age should, in reality, be

charged against our own lack of understanding and adjustment. That, at any rate, is a major thesis of *The Passing of Normalcy*. And it is an interesting thesis, interestingly developed.

### Andrew W. Mellon

"QUIET, patient, dignified, sincere and loyal—that is Andrew Mellon. No finer man than he has ever served the American people. And he is a great Secretary of the Treasury." In these words Mr. Love ends his biography of



Harris & Ewing  
ANDREW W. MELLON

Andrew W. Mellon here briefly discussed.\* The biography cannot be pronounced either a scholarly work or one of great insight. A student, who in some future year, searches for the economic and financial background in which Mr. Mellon played such a conspicuous part will find little to enlighten him in this volume. The biography bristles

with fulsome praise of Mr. Mellon, his deeds, his speeches, his economic philosophy, his politics and even his private life. One may be an admirer of the Secretary of the Treasury and still feel offended at this unblushing application of flattery, this appropriation for the Secretary of important political developments, in which he played an important part, but frequently was by no means the dominating element.

Thus, reading this biography one would assume that the post-war tax reduction policy of the government originated with Mr. Mellon and was brought, by successive stages, to its fruition through the urging and wise counsel of the Secretary. There is not a line to show that tax reduction after the war era was inevitable, no matter who was Secretary of the Treasury; that while Mr. Mellon played an important part in the discussion, his own recommendations were held in abey-

\**Andrew W. Mellon. The Man and His Work.* By Philip H. Love. 319 pages, with 7 illustrations and 8 cartoons. Baltimore: F. Heath Coggins & Co., 1929.

ance for two Congressional elections or until a more favorable opportunity for their enactment was presented; and that the final enactments were modified in many important items from Mr. Mellon's suggestions.

Such a record, in a democracy, where conflicting elements battle for advantage and control, is no detractor from the career of a public official, and failure to adopt his program does not prove him wrong. The biography of Mr. Mellon which will set him in adequate perspective to the political and economic forces of the dramatic period in which he held so important a post, still remains to be written.

But Mr. Love also does Mr. Mellon a disservice in dwelling at such length on unimportant phases of Mr. Mellon's career. The detailed recital of Mr. Mellon's unblemished emergence from frequent personal attacks dwarfs other achievements. It is interesting to learn that so many universities and colleges have delighted to honor Mr. Mellon, but most Americans are aware that these degrees are not always awarded for public achievements, but are frequently motivated by less worthy considerations, and the reader is especially apt to discount college evaluation in Mr. Mellon's case. Hence the space given to them also seems out of all proportion to their merit as unbiased appraisals of Mr. Mellon's financial and political contribution.

B. O.

## *The Economics of Branch Banking*

By BENJAMIN H. BECKHART

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, SCHOOL OF BUSINESS,  
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THE problem of banking reform is ever present. It is the hardest of perennials, or to make use of a metaphorical instead of a horticultural simile, like Banquo's ghost it will not down. The state of perfection in the credit mechanism which was to be achieved by the Federal Reserve act seems as far distant and removed from human affairs as any Utopian project. Through providing for an elastic currency and the mandatory centralization of bank reserves, and through the exercise of a vigilant control over credit expansion on the part of the Federal Reserve officials, the business cycle was to be "flattened," panics eliminated and unemployment reduced. Bank

failures would be a thing of the past and would be studied by society's antiquarians for what light they might throw on the credit organization existing in the United States, when it constituted "the world's greatest financial nuisance."

Despite the optimistic forecasts of the bank reformers the business cycle has not been eliminated, but bobs up with the persistency of a self-generating Phoenix. A stock exchange panic is a reality too recent to be viewed dispassionately; bank failures continue in monotonous magnitude.

In consequence of the bank failure epidemic, interest has shifted to branch banking as a solution and as a means of strengthening the credit organization. Not that the need for branch banking was not recognized in the earlier reform movements; authority to establish branches was specifically incorporated in the plan of the Indianapolis Monetary Commission of 1898 and in one of the early drafts of the Federal Reserve act. It was not then the central problem of bank reform, nor did it assume the importance it has during the past six years, when it has been the subject of many Congressional hearings and the motivating force behind the McFadden act of 1927.

The reasons for the growing importance of the subject, as well as the economic fundamentals involved, are treated in a comprehensive and readable fashion in the present volume.\* While the book is primarily concerned with the American problem, illustrative and case material are drawn from the experience of the United Kingdom and Canada. After a survey of the subject, Mr. Ostrolenk comes to the conclusion that group banking is inevitable; that the controversy is no longer between the merits of a unit type of banking system and a branch banking system, but between the desirability of chain banking as contrasted with branch banking.

Of the economic forces tending to make group banking inevitable there is, first, the elimination of the small independent business man who is disappearing amid the rising galaxy of chain organizations. The huge chains are financed through the sale of stock and bonds or by loans from metropolitan credit organizations, which have been forced to merge among themselves to keep pace with the growing industrial and distributive aggregates. In

\**The Economics of Branch Banking.* By Bernhard Ostrolenk. New York: Harper & Bros., 1930. \$3.50.



the transference of financing to the larger centres, this second American industrial revolution removes much desirable paper from the portfolios of local banks. Then as the second force working toward group banking, with the fatality of economic determinism, is the increasing unprofitableness of agriculture. With the tendency of those divisions that remain prosperous to borrow via cooperatives from the metropolitan banks, the opportunity for local loans is further restricted to paper of an inferior grade.

With the horizontal and vertical integrations in industry and the agricultural depression, the banking problem is a rural problem, evidence of which is the fact that bank failures have been confined to small towns in the depressed agricultural areas. The problem becomes one of insuring safe and reasonable banking accommodation to the rural centres and of enabling the shifting of population from the rural to the manufacturing centres to be as painless as possible, which is, according to Mr. Ostrolenk, the only certain means of farm relief.

The lack of opportunities for diversification and safe loans, as well as the high costs of operation, which are causing the local bank to disappear would not apply to group banking. As a form of group banking, branch banking is much to be preferred to chain banking. The branch is an integral part of the parent institution, with assets and liabilities merged and with the possibility of an easy shifting of funds. In the chain banking the unit legally is a separate entity, with its own board of directors, so that the overhead gains are not as important as in branch banking. The flexibility of management which is the dominant feature of branch banking is absent, not to speak of the difficulties of supervision on the part of the national and the State banking authorities.

As to legislative change, Mr. Ostrolenk recommends that national banks be allowed to establish branches within economic areas, the limits of which would be prescribed by the supervisory officials. This would permit strong banks, with a diversity of services and portfolio, to serve the rural community. If this is not permitted, chain banking with all its unhealthy and unwholesome attributes will result. The chief advantages of this legislative change would be a stabilized agriculture and a mitigation in the swings of business and speculation. Mr. Ostrolenk dismisses the possibility of the rise of a

money trust by pointing to the competition in branch banking countries on the part of the large banks.

## Brief Book Reviews

**SARAEVSKOE UBIISTVO** (*The Sarajevo Murder*). A study of the Austro-Serbian relations and of Russia's Balkan policy in 1903-1914. By N. P. Poletika. Leningrad, 1930. Pp. XII, 443.

The publication of the first comprehensive Soviet volume on the problem of responsibility for the war will bring new disappointment to those who are still looking to the Russian archives for sensational revelations. The volume is entirely based on evidence familiar to American students. It champions the case of the Serbian Government's complicity in the murder of the Archduke. The Russian and even the Allied Governments are also taken under suspicion, although the author is forced to admit that no document supporting this thesis has been found nor is it likely to exist. The Governments of Austria-Hungary and Germany are also denounced for having largely caused the war.

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

**THE LABOR INJUNCTION**. By Felix Frankfurter and Nathan Greene. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. \$5.

The highly controversial question of the use of injunctions in labor disputes is here treated in a detailed manner for the benefit of the layman as well as the lawyer. The purpose of the authors is not merely legalistic, but to lay bare the social issues that are involved. Their point of view is indicated by these sentences in which they summarize some of their conclusions: "Once we recognize that the right of combination by workers is in itself a corollary to the dogma of free competition, as a means of equalizing the factors that determine bargaining power, the consequences of making the power of union effective will be seen in truer perspective. Undoubtedly, hardships and even cruelties are involved in this phase, as in other aspects, of our competitive system. Wise statesmanship here enters to determine at precisely what points the cost of competition is too great. Primarily this is the task of legislatures. Only within very narrow limits is it the function of courts to apply their own notions of policy. And it is immaterial whether this is done by judges with the frank avowal that they also are organs of policy or under the subtler guise of enforcing constitutional coercions. To count the cost of union weapons is to count the cost of free competition in industrial controversy. Without breeding other ills, and, above all, without hurting the prestige of law, that cost is not to be diminished by curtailing in the name of law the most effective

union tactics. It can only be diminished by bringing industry more and more within the area of collaborative enterprise."

**WATCHING EUROPE GROW.** By Cornelia Stratton Parker. New York: Liveright, 1930. \$4.

In this "travel history" Mrs. Parker brings Europe to life for young and inquiring minds. A young bachelor uncle leads his niece and nephew on a mad three-months' airplane adventure from the Rome of nineteen centuries ago to the Geneva of today, in the course of which they become, successively, early Christians in Rome, feudal lords in Germany, Hanseatic burghers, medieval students, and so forth. In other words, they "do Europe as Europe did herself." With its lively story, its wealth of historical background and its many aptly chosen illustrations this book should be as welcome to harassed parents as to imaginative youngsters in their early teens, for whom it is written.

**POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD,** 1930. Edited by Walter H. Mallory. New York: Council on Foreign Relations (Through Yale University Press). \$2.50.

This work is now being revised and reissued annually, and though limited in its scope, is of great use for reference purposes. The special features of the book are the analyses of party programs, the lists of political leaders and the political affiliations of the principal newspapers in the sixty-odd countries of the world—information not obtainable in any other work of reference.

**THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF POST-WAR FRANCE.** By William F. Ogburn and William Jaffe. New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. \$6.

This is the third volume of the series of "Social and Economic Studies of Post-War France," published by Columbia University under the editorship of Carlton J. H. Hayes. It is a well-planned and extremely interesting survey of production of French natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil, electric power and food, and also such manufactures as textiles and chemicals. The war meant for France certain temporary disasters and certain lasting gains, Professors Ogburn and Jaffe point out: "In population, in agriculture and industrial production, in trade and in financial resources France found herself in 1919 decidedly a loser. On the other hand, in territory, in colonial domain, in basic natural resources and in manufacturing equipment elsewhere than in the devastated North the gains of the French were considerable." The exploitation of these gains during the past eleven years, although it is economic history, furnishes a highly significant clue to France's position in world politics today. It explains her greatly

enhanced prestige and why she has become a dominant factor in the disarmament problem.

**SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS,** 1928. By Arnold J. Toynbee, assisted by V. M. Boulter. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$7.50.

This volume, the latest in the admirable series issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, of which Professor Toynbee is director of studies, includes among the outstanding developments of the year 1928 the negotiation of the Kellogg pact, the growth of the constitution of the League of Nations, the policy of Italy in South-eastern Europe, the history of the Islamic world and the changes in the foreign relations of China. This survey, like those which preceded it, is remarkable for its combination of excellent narrative and careful scholarship. Professor Toynbee is unsurpassed in his field and the fruits of his labors are indispensable to all students of international affairs.

**THE BIOGRAPHY OF PRESIDENT VON HINDENBURG.** By Rudolph Weterstetten and A. M. K. Watson. New York: Macmillan. 1930. \$2.50.

With such a vastly interesting subject, it is disappointing that the authors of this book have produced such a mediocre account. It is fair to say that the book is adequate; the chief biographical facts are there. Seldom, however, does this volume give the reader any vivid picture of von Hindenburg, or of what he has stood for in the changing course of German history. The early years of von Hindenburg's life are dealt with briefly and satisfactorily. The story of the war years is long and too much taken up with details of military campaigns which are here of secondary importance. The story of the post-war years which should fill the most absorbing pages of the book, gives one the impression that the authors are consistently avoiding all events of major importance. Chapter after chapter describes in detail Hindenburg's personal connection with conditions in Germany, the labor situation, educational trends, development of athletics, economic reconstruction; and chapter after chapter either totally ignores or treats only superficially his official actions, influences and relations. Once or twice the authors have caught in a phrase like the following some of the significance of Hindenburg's position: "In the history of his country, Hindenburg will stand always as the last supporter of the old traditions and the first introducer of a note of hope into the resounding chaos of the transition stage." As a whole, the biography is a dry, rather colorless tale of a dynamic personality.

## The Month in Literature

By MALCOLM O. YOUNG

REFERENCE LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

JOHN MASEFIELD'S appointment by the King to the position of Poet Laureate of England, in succession to Robert Bridges, was announced on May 9 and was received with general satisfaction in the literary world. Mr. Masefield made it clear that he did not intend to write ceremonial odes to suit any occasion. "I do not think," he said, "that any man can really write unless he is deeply stirred."

The Pulitzer prizes for journalism and letters for 1930 were announced by Columbia University on May 12. For the best American novel the prize went to Oliver La Farge for *Laughing Boy*. Marc Connelly's *Green Pastures* received the award for the "original American play which shall best represent the educational value and power of the stage." Dr. Claude van Tyne, who died last March, received the prize for the best United States history, his book being *The War for Independence*. For the best American biography Marquis James received the award for his book, *The Raven, a Biography of Sam Houston*. Conrad Aiken's *Selected Poems* received the award for the best volume of verse.

Among the memoirs of importance which throw light on the diplomatic history of Europe are those of Prince Bernhard von Buelow, Chancellor of the German Empire, from 1900 to 1909, who died last year. The book, recently published in Germany, is remarkable for its picture of the ex-Kaiser's instability of character and the disclosure of secret diplomatic events which led to the World War.

*Modern History*, a textbook, the authors of which are Carlton J. H. Hayes, a distinguished American historian and head of the History Department of Columbia University, and Parker Thomas Moon of Columbia University (Macmillan), has been withdrawn by the Board of Education of New York City from the public schools. Objection was taken on the ground that, the authors being Catholics, the treatment of certain events is unfair to Protestantism, and, furthermore, that the book contains socialistic and pacifist implications.

Some of the more important biographies to be noted in the month's literary output

include several of literary personages. In the following list the first two at least show signs of lasting value: *The Stricken Deer*, a life of Cowper (Bobbs Merrill, \$5), by D. Cecil; *Alexander Pope* (Cosmopolitan), by Edith Sitwell; *Brawny Wycherly* (Scribner, \$3), by W. Connelly; *Baudelaire* (Little, Brown, \$3.50), by Lewis Shanks; *Boccaccio* (Boni, \$3), by T. C. Chubb; *Stendahl* (Holt, \$3), by Rudolf Kayser.

A new type of war book is noticeably increasing. It is one we cannot praise too highly for its customary freedom from the sordidness and pettiness of much fiction and for its ability to take us far from the machine age—namely, the historical novel. Examples are the translation from the German of von Molos' *Brother Luther* (Appleton, \$2.50); the pleasant *Saint Uno* (Houghton, \$2.50), by Richard L. Masten; and Conrad F. Meyer's *The Saint* (Simon & Schuster, \$2), the saint being Becket. Another sort of history is included in Margaret Irwin's *None so Pretty* (Harcourt, \$2.50), in which Charles II is involved; M. L. Mabie's *The Saints, the Devil and the King* (Bobbs, \$2.50), with Louis XI as chief character (compare the recent Coward-McCann biography, *King Spider*, by D. B. Lewis); Hugh Walpole's *Rogue Herries* (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), which holds one in its eighteenth century Lake Country and Buchan-Brontë atmosphere.

In the same general class is a group with an American setting. Outstanding among these is Edna Ferber's *Cimarron* (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), with pioneer days in Oklahoma as the stage, lacking just the right spirit of the time but with plenty of action. Then came a masterpiece, Elizabeth M. Robert's *Great Meadow* (Viking, \$2.50), a new style picture of the settling of Kentucky. Last appeared James Boyd, who wrote *Drums*, and *Marching On*, with *Long Hunt* (Scribner, \$2.50), a novel of pioneering to the west in the early nineteenth century. The publishers best describe this in calling it "a masculine novel."

Two trilogies have been completed: Henry Williamson's *Dandelion Days* (Dutton, \$2.50) is the first part, though last to be published, of the story of William Maddison. *The Way Home* (Norton, \$2.50), is the second, though latest published, of Henry Handel Richardson's trilogy, the others being *Australia Felix* and *Ultima Thule*. No one can deny the high rating of this group, but we wonder if

the author's fascinating George Eliot portrait does not add to their popularity.

A work now completed in English is Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, of which part seven, *The Sweet Cheat Gone* (Boni, \$3), finishes a huge work. Gorki, on the other hand, is just beginning a panorama in *Bystander* (Cape and Smith, \$3), a biographical novel progressing from 1880 into the '90s.

Among other noteworthy fiction are Claire Spencer's *Gallows Orchard* (Cape and Smith, \$2.50) of the Hardy school; Hergesheimer's *The Party Dress* (Knopf, \$2.50), his first in four years and not of as high rating as it should be. It is more comparable to his *Cytherea* than to his best work in *Java Head* or *Three Black Pennies*. A thoroughly delightful and keen book is the first product of Warrenne Piper, *The Son of John Winteringham* (Houghton, Mifflin, \$2.50), where one finds a memorable group of children.

There is a new anthology, *The Stuffed Owl* (Coward-McCann, \$2.50). D. B. Wyndham Lewis and Charles Lee have here is a gorgeous collection of the world's worst poetry, with Beerbohm illustrations. Richard Aldington has *The Imagist Anthology* (Covici, \$3.50), with selections from himself, from James Joyce, H. D., and others. Hart Crane's *The Bridge* (Liveright, \$2.56) stands out in a season so far lacking in any noticeable poetry.

Houghton, Mifflin has a collection of Amy Lowell's essays, *Poetry and Poets* (\$2.25). Somerset Maugham's *A Gentleman's in the Parlour* (Doubleday, Doran, \$3) is a travel record and ranks high in literary value. Horace Kallen has a series of essays in *Indecency and the Seven Arts* (Liveright, \$2.50) on several subjects, those on censorship and humanism being especially opportune. The latest books on humanism are *The New Humanism* (Washburn, \$3), by Leon Samson, and *Humanism* (Simon & Schuster, \$1.50), by Charles F. Potter. There is a posthumous collection of essays on varied subjects by D. H. Lawrence, *Assorted Articles* (Knopf, \$2.50); also there are two books, of Negro lore, *Ol' King David* and the *Philistine Boys* (Harper, \$3.50), by Roark Bradford, and *Black Genesis*, by Samuel G. Stoney and Gertrude M. Shelly (Macmillan, \$3.50). *The Green Pastures*, the Pulitzer Prize play, by Marc Connelly, is published by Farrar & Rinehart, \$2. *June Moon* (Scribner, \$2), by Ring Lardner, also appears in book form.

## Recent Important Books

By MALCOLM O. YOUNG

### BIOGRAPHY

ACKERMAN, C. W. *George Eastman*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1930. \$5.

A readable account of one who has created an industry, notable in itself, and has put into successful practice advanced labor policies.

ANDREWS, C. F. *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$3.

By an Englishman who knows Gandhi as no other Occidental does, and who is a close friend—not blind, however, to certain weaknesses in the great leader's theories.

GWYNN, STEPHEN. *Captain Scott*. New York: Harper's, 1930. \$4.

The Antarctic pioneer's story again told, this time illuminated by many letters.

LINDERMAN, FRANK R. *American, the Life Story of a Great Indian*. New York: John Day, 1930. \$3.50.

Told in the first person by a Crow chief of the nineteenth century.

MEANS, GASTON B. *The Strange Death of President Harding*. New York: Guild Publishing Corporation, 1930. \$3.50.

Dubious light from a dubious source.

SFORZA, CARLO. *Makers of Modern Europe: Portraits and Personal Impressions and Recollections*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1930. \$5.

The author's diplomatic career during this century gives him first hand acquaintance with individuals and events. Perhaps especially valuable for insight into causes of the war.

SPARKES, BOYDEN, and MOORE, S. T. *Hetty Green, a Woman Who Loved Money*. New York: Doubleday, 1930. \$5.

The story of the most picturesque of characters—the woman financier whose miserly methods make good material for the modern spirit of biography.

### ECONOMICS.

DOWRIE, GEORGE WILLIAM. *American Monetary and Banking Policies*. New York: Longmans, 1930. \$3.75.

A college text-book, with bibliographies, but so comprehensive as to be generally acceptable to a layman.

EINZIG, PAUL. *The Bank for International Settlements*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$3.

A description and the problems to be faced.

MORRISON-BELL, Sir CLIVE. *Tariff Walls, a European Crusade*. London: Murray, 1930. 7s. 6d.

The story of the map of Europe show-



ing the tariff war, constructed as a visualization of trade conditions, to make more vivid this hindrance to economic progress.

STEPHENS, GEORGE WASHINGTON. *The St. Lawrence Waterway*. New York: Carrier, 1930. \$7.50.

The most comprehensive treatment. From the Canadian point of view, with condensed arguments pro and con. Has maps and charts.

WARBURG, PAUL M. *The Federal Reserve System*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$12.

No one is better qualified to write the history, analysis, criticism and suggestions for the Federal Reserve System. Its part in the recent upset is especially valuable.

YUGOFF, A. *Economic Trends in Soviet Russia*. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930. \$4.25.

A history of Russian economics before and during the war, development since and the prospects. As comprehensive as any work as yet.

### HISTORY

CHAMBERLIN, WILLIAM HENRY. *Soviet Russia—A Living Record and a History*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1930. \$5.

Authoritative, comprehensive, with historical background, and fair in spirit in describing present conditions. Also good reading.

DILLON, EMILE JOSEPH. *Russia, Today and Yesterday*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1930. \$3.50.

By one who knew Russia of the old régime as few did and who revisits it, making observations which are fair in spirit.

HENRY, STUART. *Conquering Our Great American Plains*. New York: Dutton, 1930. \$5.

A first hand history of Kansas in the '60s, the development of the cattle industry, with the resulting wild conditions while under the domination of the Texan drovers, of characters like Wild Bill Hickok and of later change to wheat growing. A vivid picture.

SWIRE, J. *Albania, the Rise of a Kingdom*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1929. 30s.

Authoritative accounts of this danger spot, its internal conditions and its relationship to its large neighbors during the last seventeen years. An excellent annotated bibliography.

### POLITICAL SCIENCE

CHILDS, HARWOOD LAWRENCE. *Labor and Capital in National Politics*. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1930. \$3.

A necessary consideration of the problems now forcibly before the public, of the relation of special interest groups to government, with suggestion that government must adapt itself to changing economic conditions.

FERRERO, GUGLIELMO. *The Unity of the World*, with a Foreword by Charles A. Beard. New York: A. & C. Boni, 1930. \$2.50.

This Italian historian discusses the problem in a philosophical vein.

HUGHES, WILLIAM MORRIS. *The Splendid Adventure, a Review of Empire Relations Within and Without the Commonwealth of Britannic Nations*. London: Benn, 1930. 21s.

How the great nations composing the empire have peacefully adjusted their relationship to the mother country, and how they function in this connection and with one another and with other countries.

MUNRO, W. B. *The Makers of the Unwritten Constitution*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$1.50.

Four lectures: Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson.

SMITH, J. ALLEN. *Growth and Decadence of Constitutional Government*. New York: Henry Holt, 1930. \$3.

This deals with the subject in the United States, from the early movements, influenced by the church, to date, with considerable treatment of such subjects as centralization, jury system, judicial veto, international relations as a check on the state's power.

### MISCELLANEOUS

BEARD, CHARLES A., edited by. *Toward Civilization*. New York: Longmans, 1930. \$3.

A series of essays by scientists and engineers, dealing with the modern machine age; with the relationship of what this type of men have produced to what are commonly called the finer things of life.

DIBELIUS, WILHELM. *England*. New York: Harper, 1930. \$5.

Translation from German. Important for its up-to-date and thorough analysis of Great Britain to the history of government, people and its future.

FULOP-MILLER, RENE. *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*. New York: Viking, 1930. \$5.

A readable and informative book, not necessarily of first rank historical importance.

HUDDLESTON, SISLEY. *What's Right With America*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1930. \$2.50.

An Englishman makes an extensive visit and sees much to praise and gives hope for the civilization being worked out.

LITTLE, CLARENCE COOK. *The Awakening College*. New York: Norton, 1930. \$3.

Ex-President of the University of Michigan points out, as few men who have had his experience can do, the problem of higher education and his opinions as to the solution.

# To and From Our Readers

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

## THE PRESS IN CUBA

In the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* an article was printed dealing with President Machado's administration of Cuba in which William English Walling, after stating that newspapers are seized and suppressed constantly in Cuba, says: "This is such a great scandal that even President Machado's own paper, *El Mundo*, admitted, when the writer was last in Havana, that it cried for correction." Mr. R. R. Govin, the publisher of *El Mundo*, objects to this statement in the article, asserting that the quoted sentence does not reflect the attitude of *El Mundo* and that no such admission was made by that paper. Mr. Govin says that it is an exaggeration to say that newspapers are "seized and suppressed constantly" and asserts that President Machado's attitude has been one of non-interference with publications. Mr. Govin further objects to the description of *El Mundo* as "President Machado's own paper." The newspaper was founded in 1901 by the late Mr. Raphael R. Govin and it is still entirely in possession of that family. "While it is true," Mr. Govin adds, "that *El Mundo* considers President Machado a very progressive and patriotic executive, and that we are in agreement with most of his matters of policy, the President is in no way interested in our newspaper, nor does he ever interfere in any way with the policies of our publication."

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## OUR MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS

To the Editor of *Current History*:

The effort each year to enact more drastic laws to restrict immigration from Mexico raises the question of the type of immigrant that comes from that country to the United States.

The City of El Paso, lying in the far western tip of Texas and on the north central border of Mexico, is one of the main gateways in and out of the two countries. Through this gateway for the past several years a considerable stream of immigrants has entered the United States. Many of these people have remained in this city, raising its Spanish-speaking population to more than 60,000 (over 50 per cent).

There is no race problem in El Paso. There has never been a race riot, nor even friction between the two population groups. Strained relations between the two governments a few years ago made no difference in the social life of this city. The Mexican immigrant has large respect for government and law and a wholesome deference toward officials who administer it. He is appreciative, adaptive and soon finds a place in the life and work of an American city.

The hardest work at the lowest wage has commonly been the immigrant's first experience in this

country and the Mexican has proved no exception. A simple home, frugally administered, is the most that the new immigrant can at first expect, but his children will have a chance to do better. In the program of betterment the public schools of the city take the first step. Local school officials know of cases where the immigrant parents have visited the grade schools on the day they arrived in the city so that the children might enter at once.

In the public schools the Mexican children win the respect of the three or four hundred teachers who work with them. Although there is no separation in the schools of the two language groups, it happens that some of the largest grade schools in El Paso are attended almost exclusively by Mexican children because they are located in industrial districts. In these schools there is such a marked degree of obedience to discipline, respect for the official position of the teacher and pride in self-improvement that school administrators are fond of showing them to visitors.

If, as often happens, the adult immigrant never gets beyond hard manual labor, he has helped his children on to larger earning power. Many of them learn to speak and write the English language correctly. In addition large numbers complete the commercial courses or get the beginnings of a trade in the vocational schools. Such an equipment is valuable in both the United States and Mexico because of the increasing demand of employers for persons who speak and write Spanish and English. In the high schools and in the local college many Mexican students are taking the regular advanced courses, preparatory to all the professions.

In the slow but steady rise of the Mexican immigrant group the whole tendency is to conform with the institutions of this country. They contribute approval, effort and even money to the various activities and social improvements of an American city. The director of the Federal census here, irritated at some delay in the work, says: "Strangely enough, it is the native-born Americans who are tying up census enumerations. The Mexican population of El Paso has distinguished itself by unexpectedly hearty cooperation." A few months ago when the community chest budget lagged for a while short of the goal, a similar statement regarding the Mexican contribution was made by those in charge of it. This promptness to comply with governmental activity or contribute to social welfare is neither strange nor unexpected to those who have observed the life of these people in El Paso.

Among the Mexican people in this city there is no effort to modify American plans. There is no Mexican "vote" that can be delivered to any politician or for any personal purpose, though many are voters. Accepting institutions as he finds them, this immigrant does not create a problem either in political or social life. A survey of local court records shows the Mexican is the offender in less than half of the more serious offences in spite of the fact that more than half of the population is Mexican. Out of each hundred applications for help from the associated charities, an official statement shows that thirty-eight gave a Spanish name.

At the present time new interpretations and stricter enforcement of the immigration laws have thinned the stream of immigrants to about a third of what it has been for several years past. Such a policy is without doubt nationally popular and will be continued. It will mean temporary disappointment to many in Mexico, though perhaps hasten development in that country. To the immigrant in this country it will mean higher wages and easier promotion. Annually an increasing number will be able to take advanced positions in American production. Such

an absorption will not delay progress, rather it will add a bit to the economic and cultural growth of the United States. ALVIN E. NULL CHIN,

Department of History, College of Mines.  
El Paso, Texas.

\* \* \*

### THE GERMAN SITUATION

To the Editor of Current History:

Regarding the article, "Rebirth of Disarmed Germany," in May CURRENT HISTORY, the author based the technical, industrial and commercial post-war progress in Germany on the fact that Germany has disarmed. There is no doubt that the costs of the 100,000 army are not so much less than the 800,000 before the war. The dissolution of the former army increased the army of workless people to the present number of about 2,500,000. The technical progress of Germany has its foundation in pre-war and wartime. Hugo Eckener is only partially right when he laid the progress mainly to pre-war experience. It would be as wrong to lay it only to disarmament and post-war spirit. The war was a bitter school for the leading technicians. And what we see now in ships, airplanes, Zeppelins, is the spiritual effect on an undefeated people.

The industrial and commercial recovery was possible only by the help of the American money market. Only the leaders and those interested know how far already the Reich, the lands, the cities, the cartels, syndicates and big concerns are in debt to American banks and bankers. The cream of the profit from German enterprises goes to America by reparation and post-war loans. It is well to remember that Herr Schacht has said that the solution at The Hague makes it impossible for Germany to recover.

The main reason for Germany's continued standing is the social insurance legislation for illness, accident, invalidity, unemployment and old age, which binds the whole population together. There would have been more than one bloody revolution if these "tools" were not there. Just as the industries and the employers are organized, so are the workers, not to forget the agrarians and farmers. This policy pervades the whole economic structure and it is this that makes Germany so strong and powerful, and will help her to carry the burden of reparations,

GOTTFRIED KLUEBER.

New York City.

\* \* \*

### HINDENBURG'S MILITARY RECORD

To the Editor of Current History:

The article, "Paul von Hindenburg," in the April number of CURRENT HISTORY contains a number of erroneous statements. Professor Faust states: "They [Hindenburg and Ludendorff] quickly united upon a plan of defeating each army separately before they effected a junction." This refers to Rennenkampff's First and Samsanov's Second Army, which were advancing astride and were therefore separated by the Masurian Lakes. It is now well known that the plan to defeat these Russian armies in detail was decided upon by the staff of the

Eighth German Army without any orders from either Hindenburg or Ludendorff. With Samsanov's Army coming up on the Eighth Army's rear and threatening its line of retreat, there was nothing else to do but turn on it, and the barrier of the Masurian Lakes and the well-known Russian lack of enterprise and military worth left them only little to fear from Rennenkampff's First Army. Events proved the correctness of this estimate.

In another place the article contains this statement: "Each of them [Rennenkampff's First Army, Samsanov's Second Army] alone far outnumbered

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912, OF

## Current History

Published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1930, State of New York, County of New York ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Adolph S. Ochs, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of CURRENT HISTORY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of April, 1930.

[Seal]

PETER M. BROWN,  
Notary Public, Bronx County, Bronx County Clerk's  
No. 125, Bronx County Register's No. 3174, New  
York County Clerk's No. 499, New York County  
Reg. No. 1B409. Term expires March 30th, 1931.

Hindenburg's forces." Major Gen. Sir Edmund Ironside, in his authoritative "Tannenberg," gives the strength of the belligerents in the battle of that name as follows: Russians, 132 infantry battalions, 96 cavalry squadrons, and 608 field and 12 heavy guns; Germans, 155 infantry battalions, 48 cavalry squadrons, and 690 field and 128 heavy guns. Moreover, the Russians were poorly led, trained and equipped, and were suffering from lack of food and exhausting marches. At the battle of the Masurian Lakes the Germans had a total of 13 infantry and 2 cavalry divisions, and *Rennenkampf* 12 (4 being decidedly second class) infantry and 5 cavalry divisions. Four Russian cavalry divisions had the numerical strength of one of their infantry divisions.

Next, we find Professor Faust writing: "These smashing victories [Tannenberg and Masurian Lakes] enshrined Hindenburg forever in the hearts of the German people." This is undoubtedly true. But it is interesting to speculate on how much this undeserved reputation—since it was brought about by much overrated victories against a second-rate foe—had to do with the subsequent German military failure when Hindenburg and Ludendorff attained the supreme command.

Finally, we come upon this crowning eulogy: "The crashing campaign that put Rumania 'out of combat,' the recovery against the Russian invasion, the campaign in Italy, the defense against the allied offensive in France in 1917 and finally the last brilliant attempts to break the English and French lines in 1918 are as a whole not surpassed in military history." Here we have victories, indecisive with respect to the war as a whole, over second-rate antagonists and a successful defense against Nivelle's poorly conceived and executed offensive, of which the Germans had quite complete prior knowledge. As to the "brilliant attempts to break the English and French lines in 1918," they were all failures, showed lack of comprehension of strategy and military art, and are generally considered to be examples of poor leading. Consequently, to say that these are "as a whole not surpassed in military history," when we have the campaigns of Hannibal, Caesar, Napoleon and other great captains, is too gross an exaggeration to warrant further comment.

F. T. ARMSTRONG.

Langley Field, Va.

\* \* \*

#### HUNGARY AND RUMANIA

Joseph Poczos of Wallingford, Conn., writes to protest against a statement attributed to Premier Maniu of Rumania that The Hague conference decided that "no obligation will exist respecting the Hungarian optant land owners." He vehemently asserts that Hungary "was opposed to the outbreak of the World War from the very beginning." He declares that "the Rumanian Government expropriated vast estates of numerous Hungarians in violation of the Treaty of Trianon, lands in Transylvania, where Hungarians have lived for over 1,000 years." He strongly denounces the Trianon Treaty, which he says was "drawn up with the purpose of destroying Hungary as a nation, a nation whose history stretching back over ten centuries commands the respect of all civilized peoples. A document of this nature purporting to be a treaty gives rise to hatred, revenge, and sows the seed of inevitable war. To believe that world peace can be established in this manner is absurd. \* \* \* How long will Rumania and the other Little Entente Powers persevere in their simulations of diplomacy? How long will they be permitted to parade

themselves as the merciful liberators of mankind, when, at the same time, they are violating international codes, plundering the property of an unoffending people, even subjecting them to brutal treatment and death. It is at once evident that Rumania confiscated the land in Transylvania to attain her political ends. And so doing she has deprived thousands of their only means of livelihood, reducing them to poverty, to distress, to destitution."

\* \* \*

#### THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The Philippine problem, serious as it was before, is daily becoming a more serious dilemma to the United States. Viewed impartially, if that really could be possible, it still remains a vexing subject for discussion. Considering it from the background of American idealism, it becomes morally necessary for the United States to carry out its announced policy to grant independence to the Philippines. But taking into consideration the American future—and viewing the problem from an economic standpoint—America cannot see her way to grant independence to the Philippines, for thus she would be effaced from the Oriental background, lose valuable influence and find her expanding Pacific trade seriously curbed. Reading General Henry T. Allen's concise and vindictive article on "America's Duty to Regain Control" and the no less excellent one by Manuel Roxas, entitled "A Plea for Independence," in May *CURRENT HISTORY*, we can only assume that whichever way America goes through with it, somewhere she will be hurt.

JOHN PODA.

New York City.

\* \* \*

#### SHIFT OF POPULATION

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The article on the "Shift of Population as Affected by Industry" in your April issue is based on estimates recently made of the population of the various States of the Union, to forecast the coming Congressional reapportionment. The estimates seem to be based on the assumption that the rate of increase between 1910 and 1920 has continued uniformly since. They take no account of the profound economic changes in some States since 1920, revealed by the Federal agricultural census of 1925, and by statistics of marriages, births, deaths, school enrolment, gasoline consumption, &c., which are now available annually for most States. It is being taken for granted that Georgia has increased enough in population to retain its Congressional representation, while Alabama has been growing more slowly and will lose a Congressman. But Georgia has almost certainly lost population since 1920, chiefly on account of the boll-weevil (which did the same thing to Mississippi in the preceding decade) and three abnormally



dry years, together with a migration of whites to Florida and of Negroes northward.

The agricultural census of 1925 showed a decrease of about 20 per cent in farms and farm population in Georgia in five years and the State school population census of 1928 showed a continuation of the same tendency. There were about 25 per cent fewer births and deaths in Georgia in 1929 than in 1919 and the number of banks decreased about 40 per cent in the same interval. The white population and the urban population of the State have probably increased, but not enough to offset the decline of rural Negro population. Some of the preliminary returns from this year's census already show a decrease of about 50 per cent in some rural communities inhabited mostly by Negroes.

In Alabama the mining and manufacturing interests have probably caused a small increase in the State's population since 1920 (so that if it loses a Congressman Georgia will, too). The Florida census, taken in the Spring of 1925 (partly under the writer's supervision), showed about a million and a quarter inhabitants, an increase of 30 per cent in five years. But that was the year of the greatest boom Florida ever had and the population probably reached a million and a half by the end of the year, and a little more in 1926. However, since then the subsidence of the boom, combined with the Mediterranean fruit fly invasion last year, caused a slump in some sections, and a few of the cities and towns whose 1930 population has been already reported have fewer inhabitants than in 1925.

It is altogether likely that the population of the whole United States at the present time will turn out to be less than the arithmetical estimates call for. For in the whole country and in nearly half the States there were fewer marriages in 1928 than in 1922, and the birth rate is declining, too, in spite of immigration restrictions. In recent decades a desire to avoid reducing the representation of any State has made Congress larger and more unwieldy at every reapportionment. But now that some States seem to be slated for a reduction anyway, it might be an opportune time for a drastic downward revision of the size of our largest law-making body.

R. M. HARPER.

Tallahassee, Fla.

\* \* \*

#### CANADA'S FORESTS

To the Editor of Current History:

A Canadian Cabinet Minister has recently been credited with stating in Ottawa that Canada is the only country in the world without an enemy. If the statement be true it is certainly nothing for Canadians to be proud of. No nation or people or individual ever accomplished anything worth while without making enemies, even though their enmity rested upon nothing

more solid than mere envy. If Canada has not an enemy in the world—and, in the circumstances, why should she have?—it is simply because Canadians have been so supine in the past as to allow any other country that wished to erect tariff walls against their trade, to strip them without protest of their raw materials and to make a dumping ground of their markets.

In no other respect has this spirit of subserviency been more in evidence than in the manner in which Canadians have permitted the looting of their forest resources by foreign interests. For months past, through the medium of a hundred Canadian newspapers, I have urged the Canadian provincial governments to bring about a reduction of at least 25 per cent in the annual cut of pulpwood on Crown lands. Such a simple measure, which could easily and quickly be applied, I have pointed out, would, without costing the country a dollar, materially prolong the life of Canada's wood-using industries and at the same time provide a market in Canada at better prices than are now being paid for every cord of freehold wood now exported to furnish cheap raw material to foreign competitors and thereby assist them in increasing the overproduction of newsprint which is costing Canada millions.

No one has undertaken to question the soundness of this simple measure, but on the contrary I am advised that Canadians are almost a unit in its favor. The objectors are the foreign interests which profit by Canada's negligence. One may well ask, how much longer will the Canadian people stand for the dominance of their paid representatives by outsiders? The campaign that has been waged in Nova Scotia against a measure of forest conservation in that province during the past few weeks is a fair sample of their methods.

FRANK J. D. BARNJUM.

Montreal.

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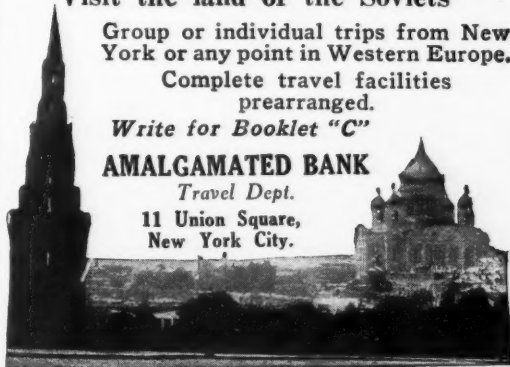
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# World Finance—A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Annalist*; FORMERLY LECTURER ON FINANCE,  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

**S**IMULTANEOUS reduction in discount rates by three central banks on May 1 may be taken as an indication of the business depression in the three countries involved. The Bank of England reduced its discount rate from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 per cent; on the same day the Bank of France marked its rate down from 3 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Somewhat later that day the Federal Reserve Bank of New York reduced its rate from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to 3 per cent. Earlier in the week the National Bank of Belgium had reduced its rate, and additional reductions were announced in European and in American central banks after May 1.

These are unusually low rates and show that the enormous volume of loanable funds, which had been drawn to the New York Stock Market during the Spring and Summer of 1929, and which were released during the Fall crash, have as yet found no channels for investment. Moreover the lack of investment opportunity also measures the trade paralysis which numbs business activity in Europe and in the United States. The world is still in the grips of a serious deflation crisis in which cheap money is merely a symptom. The lower commodity prices, embracing the entire world, reflect the international economic situation. During the month drastic cuts in copper prices to new post-war lows, further declines in prices of sugar, coffee, cotton, silk, cotton goods and yarns, rubber, finished steel and scores of minor commodities indicate the decreased purchasing power of many of the important producing areas of the world.

Though cogent reasons can be found justifying the reduction in rates, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the simultaneous action of important central banks was not wholly a coincidence. It probably is not beyond the facts that these reductions were made

in concert, by agreement and for a specific purpose. Though available ample credit justifies reduced rates, once rates go below a certain point business is not materially helped by further cheap money. Cheap money can help stimulate a business situation that is showing signs of revival; it is not a restorative. Hence the further reduction in discount rates was probably not made by the central banks to aid business but for other causes.

The most obvious other reason for cheap money at this time is the imminence of the German reparation bonds. Low interest rates are an effective stimulant for an active bond market. Representatives of the treasuries of the former allies met in Paris during the first week in May to make final arrangements for the issue of the first German annuity loan under the Young plan. According to that plan each country is to market an allotted share of the bonds, which are then applied by the government to the credit of Germany. It is a plan which shifts the loan from the creditor countries to the public which will purchase the bonds. The interest rates of these bonds had not been fixed as this is written, but the amounts to be sold in the first lot are as follows: Great Britain \$50,000,000, France \$90,000,000, United States (through private banks) \$90,000,000, leaving \$70,000,000 for the remaining European financial centres.

The cooperation of central banks here displayed is one of the more fortunate aftermaths of the war. Such cooperation was unthinkable in the pre-war days. We have here very definite examples of relegating national interests to world interests. The lowered discount rate in France, for instance, was uncalled for on strictly economic considerations, and the subsequent lowering of the discount rate of the New York Reserve Bank is open to

some criticism from the purely domestic standpoint as providing an invitation for a new stock market gambling orgy. On the other hand, a higher rate in the United States and in France than in England would have drained gold from England and aggravated an already difficult situation. Of course, there was also a community of interest in having the reparation bonds issued in a favorable market.

Another important international financial development of the month was the floating of a \$100,000,000 loan to the Sao Paulo Government. The American portion of the loan is \$35,000,000; the interest is 7 per cent and the subscription price at 96 will return 7.56 per cent. The loan virtually ends the stabilization of coffee prices carried on by the Brazilian Government and thus ends another experiment to control prices by uneconomic processes. The 16,000,000 bags of coffee that have been accumulating during the valorization period will now be liquidated during the ten years in which the loan is operative. The full extent of the difficulties that face coffee producers are evidenced by the fact that wholesale coffee prices are now 13 cents a pound, compared with 24 cents last year at this time. At these present prices, Brazilian producers, after paying the taxes on governmental loans, the cost of bagging and shipping to the United States, will receive virtually no return for growing the crop.

Retaliatory tariff measures are being discussed by several countries as a reply to the proposed Smoot-Hawley Tariff bill. The most recent measure to come before the public is the budget report of the Canadian Minister of Finance, which includes recommendations of a revision of the Canadian tariff, upward for the United States and downward, to the point of free entry, for many British imports now supplied by the United States. In part, the Finance Minister says: "Those who raise prohibitory barriers against our products entering their markets must expect that we will extend favors to our own good customers rather than to them."

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"On this point Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Director of the American Geographical Society of New York, recently expressed himself as follows at the February, 1930, meeting in Philadelphia of the American Philosophical Society:

"This wide interest (in Antarctic exploration) we owe not to the explorers themselves, but to the newspapers; and the time has come when science as well as the general public should acknowledge its indebtedness to the press. Without the assistance of the newspapers the well-equipped expeditions of recent years could not have been undertaken. However efficient airplanes may be, they are expensive things. Moreover, we are far more interested in an expedition from which we can have almost daily radio reports than we are in one that vanishes for several years, returns with news that blazes for a week, and then drops into the gulf of forgetfulness."

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